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### THE LETTER OF VERRAZANO

GIOVANNI da Verrazano was born at Val di Greve, a little village near Florence, about the year 1485, being the son of Piero Andrea di Bernardo da Verrazano and Fiametta Capella. The portrait of the Italian Navigator which accompanies this discussion is reproduced from the representation found in "Uomini Illustri Toscani," which was copied from a painting in the Royal Gallery at Florence. A search recently instituted failed to bring the original portrait to light. An attempt to find a copy of the medal that was struck in his honor met with no better success. The last member of the family in Florence was Cavaliere Andrea da Verrazano, who died in 1819. There is nothing either to prove or to disprove the authenticity of the portrait, and the presumption is in favor of its authenticity. It is now faithfully reproduced for the first time, though on a diminished scale.

In his mature years, after some experience upon the Mediterranean, Verrazano entered the service of Francis I. of France, and became famous as a privateer or corsair, a profession sufficiently respectable at that period, having been followed by Columbus and his family. In 1523 Verrazano captured several ships bringing to Spain the Treasures of Montezuma. This act in particular excited the enmity of the Spaniards, who constantly sought for an opportunity to get him into their power. In 1524 he made his voyage to America. In 1527, it has been maintained, he was captured by the Spaniards and hung at Colmenar, near Toledo; though Ramusio states that, in a second voyage to America, he was captured by the savages, roasted and eaten. In the year 1870 the present writer accepted and published the story of his execution, as told in certain Spanish documents since published.

Amongst these documents is the affidavit of the officer who professed to have put Verrazano to death. It was nevertheless noticed that the language of the officer appeared needlessly positive. Of late, evidence has come to light which may yet be accepted as disproving the state-

ments of the Spanish official, who possibly deceived himself in supposing that Verrazano had been captured; or, what is still more likely, deceived others, and, while professing to have executed the Florentine, accepted the bribe which he declares was refused, and thus let him go. This subject, however, is one that must be left for future investigation.

Another member of the same Florentine family, a brother of Giovanni, was named Hieronimo. This person was the author of the Map which relates to Giovanni's Voyage.

The subject of Verrazano's Voyage being reserved for a separate chapter, let us at once proceed to the Letter which describes the Voyage.

The first known Post-Columbian description of the North Atlantic Coast is given by Verrazano in a Letter to Francis I., which has exercised a marked influence for more than three hundred years. Nevertheless the authenticity of this Letter has recently been questioned. The objection based upon an alleged absence of contemporaneous reference to the voyage might be dismissed with the simple observation, that the charge is unfounded. Still something will be said on this point. In this connection, it has been urged by the late Buckingham Smith, the first of the two writers who have criticised the letter adversely, that neither the Letter nor the Voyage is mentioned by Admiral Chabot in his letters of 1525. This, however, is not remarkable, since the voyage of Verrazano was undertaken before he entered upon his office, which was in 1526, while afterwards an expedition was sent out under his own administration, the expedition being led by Cartier, 1534. The latter was the expedition that he would naturally recognize, though there is no proof that he did *not* recognize that of Verrazano, with whom he was associated in a projected voyage to the Indies in 1526 or later.

Mr. Smith has asked, respecting the voyage, "if there were any fame of the sort, why should France choose to settle her population so far to the North, preferring the cold regions her fishermen were conceded to have found, to the milder climate, fertile vales, and inviting bays and water courses of New England and New York?" We have only to ask in reply, Why Spain proposed the colonization and fortification of the Straits of Magellan? The French supposed that the route to Cathay led through Canada. Frobisher advocated the same policy on the part of the English.

In this connection it should, however, be remembered that the archives of France, much less those of other countries, have not been searched faithfully, and, also, that the beginning of the sixteenth century

was an inopportune time for the publication of the results of maritime enterprise. The records of Dieppe suffered much in the bombardment of 1694, while the archives of La Rochelle were completely destroyed by fire. The sixteenth century opened gloomily with the confirmation of the claim of Spain to the entire North American Continent by Alexander VI., and the first quarter of the century was hardly completed when Francis I. found himself languishing in prison, whence he emerged only to find society in a state of confusion. Heylin, writing in 1669, well observes respecting the inattention to the voyage, that the people, "too much in love with the pleasures of France, or entangled in civil wars amongst themselves, looked no farther after it."

At the time Verrazano undertook his voyage, every movement connected with the French Marine was watched with a jealous eye. He was obliged to leave stealthily, and excuse his action by the statement that he had discovered a country never before seen by Europeans.

Only two Italian versions of the Letter of Verrazano are known to exist, one of these having been published by Ramusio, at Venice, in 1556, and the Carli version first mentioned in 1767, and published by the New York Historical Society in 1841. Ramusio does not say where he found his copy, but observes that it was the only one of Verrazano's letters to the King of France that he could procure, "because the others were destroyed during the sack of the poor city of Florence." The Carli version, which had been referred to in 1667, was found in the Magliabechian Library at Florence. It was introduced to the public in 1837 by Professor Greene, and printed in full in the year 1841. In his article in the *North American Review*, Professor Greene observed that he was struck by the difference of language in the two versions, though "in substance," the differences were not important. Nevertheless, finding that the Carli version contained more matter than that of Ramusio, he expressed the opinion, in passing, that the Italian Editor worked the piece over anew before placing it in his collection of Voyages; though he could not explain why Ramusio omitted the cosmographical part, if he knew of its existence. The suggestion that Ramusio worked the Letter over appears to have been made without due consideration. It has never been supported by any proof. Nevertheless the statements of Professor Greene have been seized upon to work out a theory in opposition to the authenticity of the Letter. If it were conceded that the Carli version furnished the text of Ramusio's, no discredit would be thrown upon the authenticity of the original. This was not intended by Professor Greene, who accepted the Letter, as describing a genuine voyage. But the objector improves

upon the supposition, by attempting to show that the Letter was a forgery, the weak points of which Ramusio was endeavoring to conceal. The charge against Ramusio, the Hakluyt of Italy, becomes a serious one, and demands notice here, both to vindicate his text, and to defend his memory. It is perfectly true that the two versions are not wholly alike. It is of no consequence whether they are alike or not. Still the existing differences may be explained readily when we remember that we are not dealing with originals. When they are referred to an original version, the difficulties, if any exist, at once vanish.

An illustration of this is found in connection with Allefonsce. Hakluyt, when translating Allefonsce, makes him say that figs grow in Canada, while another translation represents him as saying that Canada extends to the land of Figuier. Without the original to refer to, one might say that the latter was worked over from the former to conceal the ignorance of Allefonsce. Again, in the printed version of Allefonsce of 1559, it is said that certain people in New England, at Norumbega, are "small and blackish," while a recent translation declares that they are "large and handsome." Was the author of the latter version still "working over" the narrative of Allefonsce to conceal his ignorance, as Ramusio is alleged to have done with Verrazano's? Fortunately the original is now known, and the explanation is easy, though in the time of Lescarbot (1609) such was not the case, and Allefonsce was discredited. At the end of more than two centuries and a half, we find that the strictures of the witty Mark Lescarbot were undeserved, and possibly Verrazano and his Italian Editor may both be obliged to wait an equally long period for a full explanation. The prospect, however, need deter no one from attempting justice now.

The Letter of Carli, which accompanies the Magliabechian version, deserves independent consideration, as it contains internal evidence proving that it was written at the time and under the circumstances alleged. An attempt has indeed been made to treat it with ridicule; but, if it were the forgery of a late period, as the theory of the objector supposes, it must still be explained how the forger came to know the fact that Francis I. was daily expected at Lyons, upon the Fourth of August 1524. Moncado, with whom Carli served, knew of the movements of Francis (*Doc. Ineditos* XXIV. p. 403) and, curiously, Carli refers to Moncado in his letter. Since, therefore, these two persons were not in communication, it would appear that both obtained the information at the time.

In approaching the two versions of the Letter of Verrazano, the critic must bear in mind the fact that neither version proposes to be more than



a translation of a copy of a copy, the original not being found. The origin of the Carli version is explained by the letter referred to, written August 4th, 1524, at Lyons, by Fernando Carli, who says that, with his own, addressed to his father at Florence, he sends a copy of Verrazano's, describing the voyage, then just finished.

An attempt has also been made to prove that upon August 4th Carli could not have obtained a copy of a letter addressed to Francis I. in the beginning of July; but there is nothing in it. On the other hand, the notion that Ramusio created his version from Carli's is not supported by any argument. It is, in fact, an assumption that might be dismissed, for the reason that it is an assumption. But what is worse, it is opposed and refuted by all the literary testimony that is brought to bear upon this distinctly literary question. To this point, therefore, let us give our attention. The style of Ramusio's version is less rude than the Carli version, but mere improvement in style could not have been an object in this case. If it were true that Ramusio knew of the existence of the Carli version, with its cosmographical appendix and accompanying letter, he would have been guilty of falsehood in speaking of his copy alone as "this little that has reached us."

Some of the differences in the two versions have been noticed, and have been referred to as unimportant, which in a sense is true. Those that are to be pointed out for the first time are likewise unimportant in themselves. They become of consequence only when studied in connection with the assumption that the version of Ramusio was drawn from Carli's.

Amongst the variations already noted are the following: Ramusio's version, describing the natives, in latitude 34° N., says that they were "brownish and not much unlike Saracens," while Carli's version says, "black and not much different from Ethiopians." Again, with reference to the grapes referred to by Verrazano, Ramusio's version reads, "having often seen the fruit thereof dried, which was sweet and pleasant," the Carli version saying, "we have often seen the grapes which they produce, very sweet and pleasant," or, as another translation of the same version reads, "tasting the fruit many times, we perceived it was sweet and pleasant." Again the Ramusio version says, with reference to the northern extension of the voyage, "We approached the land that in times past was discovered by the Bretons, which is in fifty degrees," while the Carli version says that they reached the fiftieth degree, and that "beyond this point the Portuguese had already sailed as far north as the Arctic circle." That there is anything in the Carli version demand

ing change, is simply imagination; while a careful consideration of the Ramusio version shows that the ideas expressed are not essentially different from the former. There is, therefore, nothing here to indicate that Ramusio ever saw the Carli version. The color of the American Indians was well known; the term employed in the Carli version for tasting the grapes (*beendo*, sucking) was the one to be employed in tasting dried fruits; while, with respect to the extent of the Portuguese and French voyages, Carli says that the former *began* at 50° N., and Ramusio teaches, in substance, that the French reached that latitude. Let us, therefore, consider certain variations that are more to the point.

In the Ramusio version the reader will notice that the personal address to the King is used oftener than in that of Carli, and that the former is also different. Ramusio generally says, "your Majesty" (*Vostra Maesta*) and Carli, "your most serene and most Christian Majesty" (*Vostra serenissima et cristianissima Maesta*). In two cases the former's version varies from "your Majesty," by adding *Christianissima Re*, in parenthesis, or simply *Christianissimo*. In Ramusio the address occurs eleven times, and in the Carli version seven times; and since no reason can be assigned for such variations on the part of Ramusio, they cannot be attributed to him. The Venetian Secretary was a man with a purpose. Besides, these examples of the excessive use of terms occur in the early portion of the Letter, while farther on, where literary taste or courtesy might suggest the interpolation of "your Majesty," the address is *wanting*. This is something that Ramusio would have noticed, since, according to the objector, he even changed the version of Carli from *Vostra clarissima genitrice* to *vostra Serenissima Madre*. Here, however, if Ramusio had been engaged in revising the text, we might reasonably expect the courtly Venetian Secretary, trained as he was in the careful use of forms, to have said your *Majesty's* illustrious mother.

This was so clear to Dr. Cogswell, that in translating he supplied the term omitted by both of the clumsy versions, and he writes "your Majesty's illustrious mother." (N. Y. Hist. Coll. Vol. I. p. 46, C. 19.) In another place he reduces the verbiage of "your most serene and Christian Majesty," to "your Majesty." But in these cases he is *translating*, not *revising*, and he gives the original for comparison. In translating from Ramusio, Hakluyt, by mistake, once introduces "your Majesty" where it does not belong. The variations in the two texts under consideration are, therefore, the works either of Verrazano himself or his translators and copyists.

Again Carli's version says, "we set sail from a desert rock," while Ramusio reads, "by the grace of God we set sail." The former says that there was a certain depth of water "without flux or reflux," (*Senza flusso e refluxo*) which is good enough Tuscan, while the latter says, "without flux" (*senza flusso*). These variations are trifling in themselves, but they are of a character which forbids us to refer them to the Venetian. Likewise, Carli says that the woods in America are not like "the rough wilds of Scythia," while Ramusio says, "the wild deserts of Tartary." Again, in speaking of the resemblance of a part of the American coast to the shores of the Adriatic, the Carli version reads, "the Adriatic gulf near Illyria and Dalmatia," while the Ramusio version says "Sclavonia and Dalmatia." 'Scythia was included in Tartary, and Illyria was inhabited by Sclavonians, who were widely distributed. The terms employed are such as might properly be used by two translators, while those of Ramusio are manifestly not the terms that would have been substituted by a critic engaged in making improvements.

Carli says, referring to Verrazano's preliminary expedition, "we made a cruise in them [the ships] well armed along the coast of Spain, as your Majesty must have heard," while Ramusio reads, "we took our course along the coast of Spain, as your Majesty shall understand by the profit we received thereby." Sound criticism will not refer these changes to Ramusio.

It is also to be noticed that Carli's version says of the voyage, that the first twenty-five days Verrazano sailed in a westerly direction, making eight hundred leagues, while Ramusio says five hundred leagues. Then the former says a storm came February 24th, while the latter says the 20th. After the storm, Carli's version says that they ran four hundred leagues in twenty-four days, while Ramusio's says twenty-five. In speaking of the distance run upon the American coast, Carli's version reads, "seven hundred" leagues, while Ramusio's reads, "seven hundred or more." At the same time the courses given by the latter foot up only six hundred and sixty-five. Again, Carli's version, speaking of the wind during the first course sailed westward, the following language is used: "Sailing westward with a light and pleasant easterly breeze," (*per seffiro spirando subsolano con dolce e soave levita*), while Ramusio's says: "Sailing westward with a fair easterly wind," (*per Ponente navigando con vento di Levante assai piacevole*.) All this is attributed to a scholar and critic improving the version!

But we have not done with these variations, for the Carli version after describing the natives seen at their first landing in latitude 34° N,

says, "We found not far from these people another whose mode of life we judge to be similar." The version of Ramusio adds to this, "as hereafter I will declare to your Majesty, showing now the situation and nature of the aforesaid land." If Ramusio worked over the Carli version to produce his own, he must have interpolated this sentence. And if so, why? If any changes were made, they were designed to render the sense clearer, or to remove objections. But this addition does neither. The latter limb of the sentence is superfluous, while at the same time, it refers to nothing found in either the Letter or Appendix, and on the whole, obscures the text. It might indeed be said that the phrase indicated an intention to write an additional Letter, but it is more reasonable, however, to understand him as intending to describe the "other people" in their proper place in the present communication. In that case, the explanation of the omission to do so is simple. At the end of the voyage Verrazano wrote to the King, *currente calamo*, depending in this general account more or less upon recollection. When he came to speak of the people first seen, by the law of association, they suggested a similar people not far distant; but, as the description of the country occupied by the former demanded the first place, he proceeded to his work in regular order, simply observing that hereafter he would describe the second people. In the end, however the subject was forgotten, or else he changed his mind. To say that the unkept promise was interpolated by Ramusio is idle. Here is found a mental action that could scarcely happen in the case of a forger constructing an imaginary narrative. It is one of those internal evidences that stamp the Letter as genuine; for it was written out of a mind overflowing with information. There is no halting or forced action, but a multitude of facts are pressing up for statement at the same time. A similar peculiarity is shown further on, by an example that occurs in *both* versions, where the writer, speaking of the temperature being colder than in Rome, says that it is accidental, "as I will hereafter declare to your Majesty," a promise also not kept. This double omission alone proves that the two versions must be referred to a *third*. We say again, therefore, that the peculiar action of the writer's mind indicates the authentic character of the composition; while a candid consideration of all the variations renders it impossible to suppose that the version of Ramusio was worked over from Carli's. This and the kindred assumption, that the Discourse of the Dieppe Captain was changed to agree with the Florentine's, fall together. The charge of dishonesty on the part of Ramusio has no foundation whatsoever in fact.

Where, then, it will be asked, did Ramusio obtain his version? This is a question with which we need not consider, yet as a matter of interest we may show that it was derived originally from the French. On this point we have the testimony of Pinello, who, writing in 1629, speaks of the Relation of Verrazano, detailing what he "discovered north of Florida." This Relation, it is distinctly said, was *in French*, and he supposes that it was translated by Ramusio into Italian.<sup>3</sup> It is also stated that a Spanish translation by one Taxandra existed.<sup>4</sup> Pinello was a Peruvian, who went to Spain expressly to pursue historical and bibliographical studies, in which he was eminently successful. In recognition of his services he was made honorary Judge of the Admiralty at Seville. He wrote more than two centuries and a half ago, and must be credited with a knowledge of the subject. It is apparent that he had information respecting Verrazano that is not accessible now, and when he says that the French version was the basis of that given by Ramusio the statement may be accepted. Alcedo, a Spanish author, vouched for by Mr. Smith as of "good repute," also refers to a French version of the Letter in his *MS. Biblioteca Americana*, now in the Carter-Brown Library at Providence, "escrita en Diepa en frances á 8 de julio, de 1524;" in connection with which Mr. Smith admits that if the original Letter was written in French, it would account for the marked difference in style and language of the two translations into Italian.

From the testimony of these writers, as well as from the very nature of the case, it follows that a version of Verrazano's Letter existed in French, independent of the abstracts given by French compilers. To deny the statement of Pinello, would be to assume a superior knowledge. Assumption, however, will not avail, and the testimony of this remote and unprejudiced writer will stand. The version referred to must have been obtained at an early period by the Spanish spies and agents who, as is well known, infested all the ports of France at the period when the voyage was made. This version probably exists to-day at Seville. The Spaniards kept themselves informed respecting Verrazano. Martyr calls attention to his piracies<sup>5</sup> and Gomera mentions his exploits in 1553.<sup>6</sup> A quarter of a century before Pinello's work appeared, Herrera made an abstract of the Voyage of Verrazano, evidently from the French version of the former.<sup>7</sup>

The Letter of Verrazano, after its publication in 1556, was not referred to in any printed work now known until 1563, when Hakluyt (*Divers Voyages* p. 91) translated Ribault's voyage to Florida, written the year before. Ribault possessed some account of Verrazano's Voyage, though



his statements differ slightly from Ramusio's. If any inference is made, it must be that Ribault possessed a French version, and not the Italian of Ramusio. Ribault was born at Dieppe, a rendezvous of Verrazano, who is described as "of Normandy" as well as "of Rochella." In his younger days he was doubtless familiar with the form of the well known Florentine Navigator, as he went and came amongst the sailors and citizens of this ancient town, and was acquainted with his exploits.

Next is Laudoniere, 1566, who, in speaking of the Navigator, contradicts both Ramusio and the Dieppe Captain of 1539; the former with respect to the latitude reached at the South, and the latter where he says that the Portuguese call the New World "La Francese," Laudoniere calling it "Terra Francisca." The latter variation is simply verbal, yet as slight as it may be it is the only indication at hand. Whatever it may be worth, it does *not* prove that he drew his account from the Italian. It has been said that Laudoniere makes the same mistake as the Dieppe Captain in associating Louise, the Regent, with the voyage. But in fact neither errs. The title of Regent is recognized as a title that belonged to her. There is nothing whatever to indicate that the title belonged to her in 1524, or that, *as Regent*, Louise had anything to do with the voyage. The reference to the Letter in Belleforest (1570 p. 75) and Lescorbot (1609) are consonant with the version of Ramusio. This, however, supports the statement of Pinello, that Ramusio translated from the French. Belleforest certainly did not get from Ramusio the statement made in 1570 that Verrazano died in 1524; or the fact that the Island called Claudia was properly "*Loise*." If it be said that the original French has disappeared, the same is true of the discourse of the Dieppe Captain, besides Ribault's Journal and many other documents.

But let us inquire if there appears to be any other testimony hitherto overlooked which indicates a French version of the Letter. Something of this kind possibly exists in the *Cosmographic* of Jehan Allefonsce, the Pilot of Roberval in 1542.

The treatise of Allefonsce was finished November 24th, 1545, or two years before the death of Frances I., to whom it was dedicated. Allefonsce himself died before it was completed, and the task was finished by his friend, Raulin Secalart, as was attested at the time. In this *Cosmographic*, so-called, there are certain indications showing the possible influence of Verrazano. Something of the kind might be expected, from the fact that Allefonsce followed the sea twenty years before, and as many after, the voyage of Verrazano. He probably knew all of the navigators

and privateersmen of France who were worth knowing. Besides, he shows the influence of the Verrazano Map in his own sketches, his Bay of the Isles being the same as the Florentine's Bay of Refuge, a fact to be pointed out in connection with the map illustrating Verrazano's Voyage. That Allefonsce knew Verrazano will hardly be denied, though instead of Verrazano, he once mentions Cartier, his work being simply sailing directions "by the aid of which pilots may find unknown countries." Indeed, Allefonsce does not even mention his *own* voyage to Canada as the Pilot of Roberval. In what way, then, does he indicate his acquaintance with Verrazano? This is accomplished, if at all, by what is possibly a plagiarism. Allefonsce was neither an original nor a skillful writer, and, therefore, finding some descriptions in the Letter of Verrazano that served his purpose, it is possible that he used them with such variations and additions as circumstances required. This was the case with Gosnold's scribes in 1602, though the fact exhibited by the present writer in the New England Historical Genealogical Register (January 1873) had never before been pointed out. Gosnold and his collaborators, however, had Hakluyt's English translation of Verrazano and wrote in English. On the other hand, the French version probably used by Allefonsce is wanting, and we are not able to place the French of the two writers side by side. Hence the *verbal* resemblances, so noticeable in Gosnold and other English plagiarists of the Florentine are lost. But the identity of ideas remain. In compiling his account of the new found world, Allefonsce desired to make the most of his subject, and at one point he turns from the north to take a general survey of the country. In doing this he defines the boundaries, saying that Hochelaga, included in the Patent of 1542, extended south-west as far as Figuier, thus including the entire region visited by Verrazano. Then he seems to turn to the Letter, and to use the general account of the country, seeking to combine in one glowing picture the attractions found from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. Here he transposes the order observed by Verrazano in two or three instances. In the narrative of Allefonsce the forests are described *after* mentioning the situation of the country, while the subject of gold is put *before* it. Allefonsce makes an extravagant allusion to the gold of Cibola, because at the time he wrote the fabulous wealth of that region was exciting all minds.

After readjusting these two topics, the rest stand almost parallel with the order observed by Verrazano. Supposing this done, it may be noted, first, that the Florentine says that the "East" stretches around this country, while Allefonsce thinks that this is "the utmost bounds of Asia." The latter says that these countries "border on Tartary," while Verra-

zano, in Ramusio's version, speaks of "the wild deserts of Tartary," and both remark upon the productions of the East, the one speaking of "medicinal" and "aromatic drugs," and the other of the medicinal quality of the trees. Next they agree that the forests are both vast and various, and that the country is gold bearing, the Florentine putting the gold in or near latitude  $34^{\circ}$  N., and Allefonsce in  $35^{\circ}$  N., or the parallel of Cibola. Afterwards both writers mention quadrupeds and birds in *immediate connection*, closing up that topic in a similar way, Verrazano saying "many other similar [beasts] and with a great variety of birds for every kind of pleasant and delightful sport," Allefonsce adding to his account, "various other sorts of birds and beasts." The succeeding topic is the *water supply*, and this opens the way to speak of the *climate*, of which Allefonsce cannot give so good an account as Verrazano, being obliged to generalize in speaking of the North and South at the same time. Then follow the *winds* and the *rain* and the disposition made by nature of the general *humidity*. Verrazano says the prevalent winds of Summer are north-west, with a clear sky and "but little rain," while Allefonsce agrees that the west wind "brings no rain." Even in treating the topic which might perhaps appear the least promising of all, Allefonsce seems to be holding on to the thought of the Florentine, which here concerns the disposition that nature makes of the moisture in the atmosphere. On reaching this point he realizes that he is in a high northern region, and must come directly to the point, not discussing "all these regions." Therefore, instead of saying with Verrazano, who was speaking of summer skies, that the sun dissipated the moisture, he tells his reader in substance, that the moisture, which is so dense as to be styled rain, is frozen in the winter time, and falls to the earth in the form of snow. Here he reaches the end of his list of subjects; but still he has not finished, having failed to do justice to the *forests*, which Verrazano dwells upon with delight. Casting his eye over his manuscript, he seems to perceive a deficiency, and adds after his account of the snow, "there are also forests *as beautiful as ever you could possibly see any where in the world*;" which done he goes on with a description of the creatures that were found in the Canadian Sea, coloring his narrative by the aid of the second voyage of Cartier.

Let the reader study these two accounts side by side, and he will perhaps find that the coincidences are too striking to admit the suggestion that they are the result of accident. Verrazano, apparently, was known to Allefonsce. He used the order as a matter of convenience, endeavoring at the same time to warm the climate of Canada by associating it with the entire country from the South. For the convenience of

the reader the language of the two writers has been given in parallel columns, the chief points being italicised. An extract from Barlow's description of North Carolina in 1584 is also inserted, to show that he drew on Verrazano in a similar manner, though "Master Winter" gets the credit. A detached extract of Verrazano's Letter is added to throw light upon the remark of Allefonsce concerning La Rochelle, which appears to have been suggested by Verrazano's remark about the parallel of Rome.

## VERRAZANO

Ascending farther, we found several arms of the Sea which make through inlets, washing the shore on both sides as the coast runs. An outstretched country appears at a little distance rising somewhat above the sandy shore in beautiful fields and broad plains, *covered with immense forests of trees* more or less dense, too *various* in colors and too delightful and charming in appearance to be described. I do not believe that these are like the *Hercynian* forest or the rough wilds of *Scythia* [Tartary] *and the northern regions* full of vines and common trees, but adorned with palms, laurels, cypresses and other *varieties unknown in Europe*, that send fourth sweetest fragrance to a great distance, but which we could not examine more closely for the reason before given, and not on account of any difficulty in traversing the woods, which, in this country are easily penetrated.

*As the "East" stretches around this country*, I think it cannot be void of the same *medicinal* and aromatic drugs and various riches of *gold and the like*, as denoted by the color of the ground. It abounds also in *animals*, as *deer, stags, hares* and many other similar, and with a great variety of *birds* for every kind of pleasant and delightful sport; It is plentifully supplied with *lakes and ponds* of running water; and being in *latitude*

## BARLOW

This island hath many goodly woods full of Deere, Conies, Hares, and Fowle, rove in the midst of summers in incredible abundance. The woods are not such as you find in *Bohemia*, *Moscovia*, or *Hercynia*, barren and fruitless, but the highest and reddest cedars in the world, far bettering the Cedars of the Azores, of the Indies or Lybanus, Pynes, Cypres, Sassaphras, the Lentisk, or tree that beareth the Masticke, the tree that beareth the rine of blacke Sinnamon, of which Master Winter brought from the streights of Magellan, and many others of excellent smell and qualitie. [Hak. III. p. 246.]

## ALLEFONSCE

It is said that the inhabitants of the country pretend that in a country called Cibola, in *latitude 35 N.*, all the houses are covered with *gold and Silver*, and they use nothing but *gold and Silver* vessels. *These countries border on Tartary*, and I think this is the utmost *bounds of Asia*, (according to the Sphericity of the globe, and therefore I think it would be well to have a small vessel of about seventy tons burden, with a view to explore the coast of Florida. I have myself been in a bay as high up as 42° between Norumbega and Florida without finding the bottom, and I do not know whether it extends any farther.) In all

34° the air is salubrious, pure and temperate, and free from extremes of both heat and cold. There are no violent winds in these regions, the most prevalent are the *north-west and west*. In the Summer, the season in which we were there, the sky is clear with *but little rain*. If *fogs and mists* are at any time driven in by the south winds, they are instantly *dissipated*, and at once it becomes bright again.

\* \* \* \*

This region is situated in the parallel of Rome, being in 41° 40' of north latitude, but much colder from accidental circumstances and not by nature.

these regions there are great *quantities of timber* of various kinds, such as oaks, ash, cedar, cypress, dwarf holly and arbor vita, which are of *Medicinal quality*. They have some timber almost as white as snow, and common pine, of which they make Ship's masts, aspen trees, birch resembling cherry tree, also very large cedars, hickory and small nut trees. There have also been found red plums resembling what are call Coubrejean. There are also large wild peas, as well as gooseberries and strawberries. Moreover you find many *wild animals* such as *deer, roe bucks*, porcupines, bustards, cranes, wild geese, owls, turtle doves, crows, ravens, and *various other sorts of birds and beasts*. (Small snakes are also found such as you may see in France. And the Savages say that unicornes are also found. Whatever is sown here requires but two or three days to spring up. So well does grain thrive here, that have myself counted twenty-six Kernels in a Single year of the same sort which Jacques Cartier has sown. So rich is the ground that if you sow in March your crop will be ripe in the middle of August. The *water* is much better here than in France, and my impression is that if the land were worked as as it should be and thickly settled, it would be quite as *warm as at La Rochelle*. The frequent *snows* that fall here, are owing to the fact that when it rains the rain is speedily *turned into snow*. *Rain* does not occur here except with the *East wind*; the west wind brings *no rain*. With the north wind there comes abundance of snow: From November to February it snows constantly and so hard that the snow is often six feet deep. There are also forests as beautiful as you could possibly see any where in the world.



Such is this curious piece of testimony from the *Cosmographic* of Allefonsce; the reader will judge of its worth. Beyond question it is worthy of consideration; for though the extracts given contain two or three sentences not strictly connected with the subject, the thread of thought is identical with that of the Florentine.\* It therefore appears reasonable to suppose that Verrazano's Letter existed in the French language in France twelve years before its publication by Ramusio; since it cannot be said that Verrazano plagiarised the narrative of Allefonsce, or that both made use of a third writer to us unknown.

By a curious coincidence, Hakluyt, in borrowing from Verrazano to illustrate his Discourse on "Western Planting," (Maine Coll. s. 2. vol. II., p. 22) uses substantially the same portions supposed to have been used by Allefonsce for the same purpose. Many instances of similarity in description could be given, since in describing the productions and characteristic of a country, writers are inclined to follow the order of topics often pursued in connection with natural history, yet such a reference of this example would not prove satisfactory. Buckingham Smith in his Inquiry (p. 7) summarises the passages supposed to have been used by Allefonsce; while so striking are the descriptions that in the Mercator of Hondius (Amsterdam 1611) we find them taken at second hand from Barlow, whose plagiarism has already been quoted. The work in question says (p. 371) "*Maiselles ne sont comme in Boheme, Moscovie, ny Hyrcanie chauves et steriles*," &c. There is, therefore, something in the Letter of Verrazano that various writers have very naturally laid hold upon, which may have been the case with Allefonsce. Whatever view the reader may take of this part of the discussion, the main argument remains; for it is demonstrated, apart from the constructive argument concerning Allefonsce, that the two known versions of Verrazano must be referred to an earlier version as their common source, and that the Letter was known in France at the time of Francis I. That Cartier should be mentioned by Allefonsce may appear to be opposed to the argument; yet the most painstaking examination will not afford any proof of that Cartier furnished his description.

The probability that the Letter of Verrazano was known to Allefonsce is strengthened by the fact that another French writer of that period makes a distinct reference to the voyage of the Florentine. This is the author of what is called, "the Discourse of a great Sea-Captain, a Frenchman of the town Dieppe," written in 1539, and published by Ramusio in 1556, in the same work that contains the Letter of Verrazano. This Discourse gives a general description of the North American Continent, and

says, "following beyond the Cape of Brettons there is a land contiguous to the said cape, the coast whereof extends west by south-west as far as the land of Florida, and it runs full 500 leagues, which coast was discovered fifteen years ago, by Messer Giovanni du Verrazzano in the name of King Francis and Madame the Regent, and this land is called by many *la Francese*." This Discourse was written by some one in the Expedition of Parmentier to Sumatra, 1529, and its authenticity has never been questioned. The original, like that of the Verrazano Letter, has disappeared, and though possibly traces of it may yet be found in Spain, where the French copy of Verrazano's Letter existed, probably having been drawn from France during the life time of Francis I. To repeat the charge that the reference to the Letter of Verrazano in the Discourse of the Dieppe Captain was interpolated by Ramusio can not be tolerated, since the whole theory of interpolation has been destroyed, by the demonstration of the fact that the version of the Verrazano Letter given by Ramusio was not and could not have been worked over from the version of Carli. There being no evidence therefore to the contrary, the recognition of Verrazano by the Dieppe Captain in 1539 must stand.

In a subsequent chapter it will be demonstrated that the Map of Hieronimo da Verrazano, made in 1529, is alone capable of proving that the Letter of Giovanni existed prior to that date, and that the Map was based upon the descriptions of the Letter. It will thus appear that the theory that this Letter was the forgery of a later period, or about the year 1540, and intended to flatter the civic pride of Florence, will not hold. It shuts up the mind to insuperable objections, and makes too great a claim upon our faith. It requires us to believe that the forgers undertook their work while Francis I. was still alive; that no precautions were taken to prevent its publication in 1556, when the seaports were full of men who could have denied the claim had it been false; it is to suppose that untravelled Florentines possessed exact knowledge of the condition of New England; it is to suppose that Ramusio, the learned Secretary of the Venetian Council, conspired, independently of the original movers, to aid the deception and flatter the pride of a rival city; and that the Florentines deliberately selected one for their hero who, according to the objecter's theory, perished infamously upon the gallows, or else that they adopted his name without investigating his history and ultimate fate. It is easier to believe in the authenticity of the Letter of Verrazano. Another article will discuss the Voyage.

B. F. DE COSTA

<sup>1</sup> The Slavonians were spread far and wide, but the *true* country of Slavonia formed a part of Hungary then as now. It is depicted on Verrazano's map, and is not represented as extending to the coast. Illyria was called Slavonia, only because occupied by a Slav population.

<sup>2</sup> It is remarkable that Hakluyt, in his first translation of Verrazano's letter (1582), accidentally omitted the clause that is omitted by Carli, "by the profit we received thereby," yet it is imagined that this could not possibly be an omission by Carli, but that it *must* be an interpolation of Ramusio's! That Ramusio interpolated the language "by the profit we receive thereby," with reference to the ships from Mexico, is indefensible, since it is absurd to suppose that at the late period of July 8, 1524, Verrazano would attempt to convey any obscure information respecting an event that was notorious in both France and Spain. In the cruise referred to he had only two ships, while in capturing the treasure ships he had six. The cruise on the coast of Spain was simply an episode in the voyage begun with four ships expressly to explore, and which was finally prosecuted with one.

<sup>3</sup> In the "Epitome de la Biblioteca Oriental i Occidental Nautica i Geografica," by Antonio de Leon Pinello, Madrid, 1627, p. 79, are the following entries:

"IVAN VERRAZANO. Relacion de lo que descubrio al Septemtrion de la Floride, en Fracès."

"IVAN BAPTISTA RAMUSIO la traduxo i la imprimio en tomo 3."

<sup>4</sup> "IVAN VERRAZANO. Description del nuevo Orbe, segun Taxandra." "Epitome," p. 171. The edition of 1738, T. II. p. 620, states, in addition, that Lescarbot followed Ramusio, "esta resumida en Marco Lescarbot." In this edition the editor departs from the primitive orthography of the Florentine's name, which Pinello gives correctly. That the French and Spanish versions existed a considerable time prior to 1627 is evident from the fact that Herrera (Dec. III, L. VI. C. IX.) gave an abstract of Verrazano's Letter. That Herrera translated from Ramusio there is no proof. The Letter was evidently well known in Spain. Alcedo, in his unpublished *Biblioteca Americana*, which has a brief notice of the life of Verrazano, gives of his writings: "Relacion des descubrimiento que hizo al Septemtrion de la Florida en noubre de S. M. Cristianisima: Escrita en Diepa en Frances à 8 de Julio, de 1524. *Idem*—Traducida en Italiano en la Colecion de Ramusio." From the MS. (Carter-Brown Library,) Vol. II., p. 890.

<sup>5</sup> Epis. 774. Ed. 1530. Dated Nov. 10, 1522.

<sup>6</sup> "La Conquista" de 1553, fol. LXXXVII. See in these connections M. Brevoort's "Verrazano," &c.

<sup>7</sup> Dec. III, L. iii. C. IX.

<sup>8</sup> The General account of the country by Verrazano includes *eleven* points, *all* of which are used by Allefonsce, who amplified the most of them and reduces others, after expressing the same minute shades of thought. The identity of the two descriptions will appear the more clearly by changing the *gold* mentioned by Verrazano from the *fourth* to the *first* place, noting here that both writers place the gold in practically the *same parallel*. The order thus observed by each writer will be as here indicated; topics 2, 3, 4, and 9, 10, 11 being closely associated with another.

## VERRAZANO

1. Gold.
2. Forest (varied).
3. The "East" (Asia).
4. Medicinal qualities.
5. Animals (varied).
6. Birds (varied).
7. The water supply.
8. The temperature.
9. Winds.
10. Rains.
11. General humidity (moisture dissipated by the sun).

## ALLEFONSCE.

1. Gold.
2. Asia (the East).
3. Forest (varied).
4. Medicinal qualities.
5. Animals (varied).
6. Birds (varied).
7. The water supply.
8. The temperature.
9. Rains.
10. Winds.
11. General humidity (moisture changed to snow).

## OBSERVATIONS ON THE DIGHTON ROCK INSCRIPTION

In an article on the lately discovered Davenport tablets (published in Vol. II. of the Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences), Dr. R. J. Farquharson enumerates the inscribed stones found in this country, including among them the celebrated Dighton Rock, near the mouth of Taunton River, in Massachusetts. This rock, as is well known, bears an Indian pictograph, which has been quite plausibly interpreted for Mr. Schoolcraft by Chingwauk, an intelligent Algonkin Indian. He threw out, however, several characters, stating that they had no significance; and some of these, in connection with others actually explained by him, have been thought to form a runic inscription denoting the arrival of the Northmen in the present State of Massachusetts several centuries before the Columbian discovery. The translation, as given by Professor Finn Magnussen, of Copenhagen, runs thus:

"151 Northmen under Thorfinn took possession of this land."

Dr. Farquharson says in his article: "As this reading accords almost exactly with the long lost and recently found Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefn, and is accepted by the French runologists, it may be accepted as the true one."

"The confidence inspired by this successful reading," he continues, "induced the Royal Society of Antiquarians of Denmark to purchase this rock, and arrangements were very recently being made to remove it to Copenhagen. The excitement caused by this movement culminated lately in a public meeting at Boston, and other arrangements were there made by which this important monument of our early history is to be preserved and transported to that city. In consideration of this concession on the part of the Danish antiquaries, a granite monument is to be erected on the spot now occupied by the engraved rock, thus to commemorate the landing here in 1007 of Thorfinn, as narrated in the Saga, and in the inscription, as read by Magnussen."

If such is really the case, the good citizens of Boston may rejoice in the prospect of two grand celebrations with the usual accompaniments of flag-waving, speeches and other proceedings characteristic of such occasions. But would it not be well for them to pause before they carry out their plan of placing a monument at the mouth of Taunton River, and to consider whether the Danish runologist's interpretation can stand the test of scrutiny? If not, they run the risk of commemorating something that probably never happened. It is not surprising that a people

to whom, owing to the short duration of its existence, the romantic element of an ancient history is denied, should evince an inclination to acquiesce in the acceptance of a vaguely intimated occurrence to which the character of a historical fact cannot be attributed. Yet such a tendency is totally at variance with the spirit of keen inquiry characterizing our time, and therefore should not be fostered, but should be made to yield to the dictates of sober judgment. I leave for a moment the Dighton Rock inscription, and its interpretation by Finn Magnusen, in order to make some statements concerning *another* attempt of the same gentleman at deciphering runes.

The venerable chronicler, Saxo Grammaticus, gives an account of a great battle fought in Sweden on Braavalle heath, close to the boundary of Oestergötland and Södermanland. The contest was between King Harold Hildetand of Denmark and the Swedish King Sigurd Ring, the first of whom was slain in the battle, which is supposed to have been fought about the year 700 of our era. A runic inscription relating to this battle was said to be engraved on a rock in the Swedish province of Bleking. The rock is called "Runamo" by the people of the neighborhood. The spot was visited at different periods by antiquaries, but none of them attempted to explain the marks supposed to be runes. In the year 1833, however, the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences concluded to send a committee of scientists to the spot, to investigate the subject thoroughly and report with regard to it. Professor Finn Magnusen was a member of the committee. As it would be foreign to my purpose to describe the operations of these gentlemen in detail, I come at once to the point by stating that in 1841 Professor Magnusen published an illustrated quarto work of 742 pages, under the title *Runamo og Runerne*, the principal feature of which is his translation of the marks on Runamo Rock. He made out the following inscription:

Hildekind occupied the empire  
Gard cut in (the runes)  
Ole gave oath (oath of allegiance)  
(May) Odin hallow the runes  
(May) Ring fall  
On this earth  
Alfs, lovegods  
(Hate) Ole  
Odin and Freja  
And Aser's descendants  
(May) destroy our enemies  
Grant Harold  
A great victory



As will be seen, the purport of the inscription is an invocation against the enemies of Hildetand, whose name, however, is read "Hildekind." The runes, Professor Magnusen states, are of an intricate character, and must be read from right to left. But now comes the reverse of the medal.

In the year 1842, and afterward in 1844, the Runamo Rock was visited for the purpose of examination by the distinguished Danish archæologist, J. J. A. Worsaae—the second time in the company of an artist, who took different views of the locality. Again, I cannot enlarge on Mr. Worsaae's most thorough investigations, but must confine myself to a statement of the final result he obtained, namely, *that there is no runic inscription whatever on Runamo Rock, and that the marks considered as runes by Finn Magnusen are simply the natural cracks on the decayed surface of a trap dike filling up a rent in a granitic formation.*

The arguments brought forward by Mr. Worsaae are to me absolutely convincing, and cannot fail to produce the same effect on every unbiased reader who peruses his amply illustrated work on the subject. It appeared in 1844 at Copenhagen under the title *Runamo og Braavalle-slaget. Et Bidrag til archæologisk Kritik*, or "Runamo and the Braavalle Battle. A Contribution to Archæological Criticism." The work was translated into the German language under the author's supervision, and published in 1847 at Leipzig as the second part of a highly illustrated quarto volume, entitled *Zur Alterthumskunde des Nordens*. A copy of this translation (perhaps the only one in the United States) is in my possession, and may be inspected by any one particularly interested in the subject.

I should not omit to state that Mr. Worsaae speaks throughout the work in terms of the highest consideration of his colleague, Professor Finn Magnusen; yet his personal regard could not prevent him from exposing the grave error of this meritorious scholar, who allowed himself to be led astray by a too lively imagination.<sup>1</sup>

In view of the foregoing it may be pertinently inquired: What confidence can be placed in Magnusen's interpretation of the Dighton Rock inscription? Any one who will take the trouble to examine in the published drawings that part of the Dighton Rock inscription supposed to be of Scandinavian origin, must perceive at once on what a shadowy basis the presumption rests. Even Schoolcraft, who professes to believe that the Northmen sculptured runes on Dighton Rock, could not conceal his scruples as to the correctness of the translation furnished by Professor Magnusen. I may revert to this subject in another article.

The evidences brought forward to prove in a tangible way the presence of the Vikings of the North in the so-called Vinland have certainly thus far been very unsatisfactory. The "Skeleton in Armor" disinterred near Fall River was doubtless that of an Indian, buried, perhaps at a comparatively late period, with some weapons and ornaments made of sheet brass—a material with which the New England settlers are known to have supplied the natives. The "Round Tower" at Newport, Rhode Island, is now considered as the substructure of a windmill, erected during colonial times. For details, I refer to a curious little pamphlet, entitled "The Controversy touching the Old Stone Mill in the Town of Newport, Rhode Island" (Newport, 1851). What will be thought of the supposed Scandinavian inscription on Dighton Rock at some future time; when pardonable credulity will have yielded to severer methods of investigation?

All this, however, does not invalidate my belief that the Northmen were the pre-Columbian discoverers of America.

CHARLES RAU

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Worsaae is far from claiming the priority in the discovery that the marks on Runamo Rock are not the work of man. According to his express statement, their true character had been recognized by several antiquaries of the last century. In the present it was no lesser authority than the celebrated Swedish chemist, Baron Berzelius, who, after inspecting the locality, pronounced the marks on the rock to be due entirely to natural causes—an opinion in which he was supported by Professor Sven Nilsson, the veteran archæologist of Sweden.

## PARKMAN'S FRENCH COLONIZATION AND EMPIRE IN NORTH AMERICA

Mr. Parkman has appropriated to himself alike in purpose and in most faithful and successful dealing with it, an historical theme of the broadest and most profound interest in the whole range of subjects which connect European and American enterprise and annals on this continent. Before he had reached the age of manhood, a strong inborn prompting and proclivity had indicated to him a direction for reading, which led on to study and research, and which was happily accompanied by tastes and qualities, intellectual and physical, fitting him for arduous tasks severer than any of those of the study, but of prime necessity for the accomplishment of his aim. The theme which engaged his thought and his literary ambition was the History of French enterprise in exploration and colonization in North America. His first purpose was to deal with the tragic contest—called by us the Old French War—in which French dominion here was closed by the triumph of British arms. An after thought most naturally suggesting itself to him, as to all historians, in the embarrassment for finding a beginning, a starting point, at which to take up an episode or a conclusion in any extended series of incidents vitally connected in continuous story, compelled Mr. Parkman to contemplate a much broader and comprehensive theme. It was for him to trace the origin, the struggles, the heroic, the romantic and vacillating fortunes of that arduous enterprise for planting French dominion on this continent, whose disastrous overthrow had only engaged his first purpose. He had to work backwards on his rich and intensely interesting theme, and we have yet to wait in his next promised volume for his dealing with the culmination of the tragedy in "Montcalm and the Fall of New France." A gap will then be left to be filled between the matter of that volume and the one now in our hands.

The world is well acquainted with the series of volumes which for a quarter of a century have been appearing from Mr. Parkman's pen, and which in their steadily multiplying editions prove that they have secured what is best in popularity among general readers, while they have won for their author, at home and abroad, the grateful repute and tribute of having no superior among recent historical writers in genius and aptitude for his special work, or in the fidelity, the skill, the consummate ability and the noble impartiality with which he has treated subjects involving diverse convictions and ardent feelings.

This last published volume stands as the fifth in the series of historical narratives under which he has treated parts of his full subject. The previous volumes have borne the titles of "Pioneers of France in the New World," "The Jesuits in North America," "The Discovery of the Great West," and "The Old Regime in Canada." "The History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac," though dealing with a later stage of the same long tragedy of conflict, had appeared in print before the volumes just named. Readers who have all the works in their hands for the enjoyment of a first perusal may follow the order of time through them.

There is still one other volume of the author's containing a narrative of personal adventure and experience in his early manhood, which may be regarded as explaining to us his self training for the composition of his historical works, so far as they required of him a knowledge of wood-craft, of familiarity with the forest and the wilderness, the scenes and incidents of life in wide roamings over the native woods, over mountains and streams not yet reached by civilized man, and a familiar converse with savage tribes in their own haunts, in their journeyings, their revelries and their filthy lodges. This volume, under the title of the "Oregon Trail," has many vivid and picturesque descriptions, with fresh and charming and exciting relations of the author's pluck and endurance for the sake of gratifying a keen craving to see and know what was to be found only by seeking it at its prime sources.

The documentary materials which alone could furnish Mr. Parkman with full and authentic information for his whole series of volumes, were known to be abundant and rich, while it was reasonable to expect that patient and thorough research would bring to light many valuable additions to what was gathered in archives or easily accessible in print. Still the labor and cost involved in investigations, in securing original papers, charts, maps, &c., and in obtaining copies of manuscripts, tracts and rare journals, with the necessity of comparing discordant narratives, of distinguishing the elements of fact and fiction, and of interpreting writings uncouth or well-nigh illegible, made a heavy exertion on the patience, the purse, and the keen mental vigor of the author. Suffering and enfeebled as he has been through his whole literary career, by maladies which intensified his impulses to exertion and mental application, while they limited the hours he could wisely give to reading or writing, he has had to depend largely upon the helping pen or voice of others. He has made repeated visits to France for the examination of the manuscript collections of the French government, in the national archives, the national library, and the archives of the Marine and the Colonies, with

other public and many private places of deposit for valuable documents, and has sought out in the interior of the realm and in its ancient seaports every trace and relic of those of whom he has to make record in his pages. The journals, official relations and private letters of the Jesuit Fathers, of the military and civil functionaries in Canada, and the correspondence of Governors, Intendants and ecclesiastical dignitaries with the King and the Ministry, have been brought into his service. The reducing and digesting and verification of the bewildering mass of information found in large parcels or in fragments in these papers was a task requiring patience, skill and an acute discrimination. Other sources of information there are in Canadian repositories, civil and ecclesiastical. French, English and Dutch documents, which have been copied from foreign archives at the expense of the governments of New York and Massachusetts, existing still in manuscript or printed with more or less careful editing, have been faithfully and discreetly used by Mr. Parkman for subsidiary information and illustration. Each page of his finished composition, while the elaboration of its matter has in no wise impaired the vigor or grace of its style, attests the skillful condensation and digestion of material gathered from various sources.

The most critical and difficult element of Mr. Parkman's task, in the use of his abundant material, lay in the stress of his obligation to write with fair appreciation of the zeal and efforts of profoundly earnest, devout and heroic men whose self sacrifices and sufferings were spent in labors in which he himself can engage no personal sympathy, while he must regard them as futile and wasted, glorified only by the fervors of their sincerity. Of course the difference is wide and complete between the ideal and estimate of their work by the Jesuit Fathers, as they themselves present it in their *Relations*, and the exposition and comment upon it by the historians, with whom the severest tests of reason take the place of miracle and credulity. But he allows them to tell their own story, to plead their own cause, to exhibit themselves, their aims, their zeal, their all-enthraling devotion, their absolute self-renunciation, and their calm heroic constancy, under the torturing agonies of their endurance, in their own words.

Besides, what is especially applicable in these remarks to Mr. Parkman's method of dealing with the spirit and the work of the Jesuit missionaries, his volumes throughout contain many damaging and humiliating exposures of the folly, the mismanagement, the jealousies, the tricks and artifices of even the highest officials of France in the New World, and bring to light intrigues and corruptions which amuse while they



shock the reader, at the expense of those on whom they leave a stain. Of such revelations as lay in the line of his duty to divulge, Mr. Parkman wrote as follows in the Preface to his "Old Regime in Canada."

"Some of the results here reached are of a character which I regret, since they cannot be agreeable to persons for whom I have a very cordial regard. The conclusions drawn from the facts may be matter of opinion; but it will be remembered that the facts themselves can be overthrown only by overthrowing the evidence on which they rest, or bringing forward counter-evidence of equal or greater strength; and neither task will be found an easy one."

The criticism thus challenged, and which Mr. Parkman invites also for his last volume, as well as for all the others in his series, has thus far altered itself only in the qualification of the high and generous appreciation of his works by Jesuit and Canadian reviewers, through the expression of a sincere regret that a writer who has so loved and honored his great task should not be himself in the fold of the faithful. There has been no denial of the facts that the authorities on which he relies have been gathered with an exhaustive diligence, that they have been from the first sources, authentic and unusually illustrative, and that whatever is damaging in their exposures is chargeable upon the parties whose deeds they record and whose pens wrote them.

But all the discipline and furnishing which library and archives could secure to one who had chosen for his historical labor such subjects as those spread over Mr. Parkman's pages, would never have given them the charm and the absorbing interest which they have for the reader, had he not brought to them quite other qualifications. These he either had in himself in genius and natural aptitude, or acquired by the purchase price of severe application, effort and training. Our author proves himself well-read in the period of French history, with all the intrigues, jealousies and rivalries through which it is to be traced, in personal, social and clerical schemes and plottings. He has also sagaciously studied the workings of human nature in its morbid or exalted exercises, its heats and enthrallments of enthusiasm and credulity of stern self-sacrifice and abject subjection to authority, by which we are to interpret and explain the fervid soul-heroism of the Jesuits in their sublime zeal and constancy. But after all, the scenes and surroundings of the actors and events which supply the material for Mr. Parkman's pages, present the most exacting strain on the resources and skill of the historian, demanding of him that he be also poet, painter and naturalist. The readers of this series of volumes have learned from them how to appreciate the charm and spell of their power in the description of the

wild scenes of nature, the aspects and phenomena of the wilderness, of the depths of primeval forests, the foliage, the mosses, the tangled thicket, the oozy morass, the tranquil or tossing lake, the winding stream, the cataract, the perils of bewilderment and starvation, and the methods of guidance, subsistence and safety for those who venture as strangers, and those who are at home amid these features of the once New World. Whether Mr. Parkman affords in himself an example of reversion to the original state of savagery and wildness, or had a native quality in his make and fibre, his eye and mind, manifesting itself in his appreciation of and power of dealing with this woodcraft, and with the habits and aspects of life for the roamers in the forests, the reader will decide for himself. For ourselves only we must say that in no other pages have we read such descriptions in the grandest or the most minute features of the original American forests, in their rugged or their glorious and fascinating aspects, in the terrors which warn off from them, or in the charms which lure into them. Nor have we in all the piled-up volumes of our literature in prose and poetry, in romance, narrative or laborious returns of explorers and statisticians commissioned by government patronage, any equally discriminating conceptions and delineations of the nature and habits of the Red men, which we can read with such assurance of their adequacy and fidelity as we yield to the treatment of the subject by Mr. Parkman.

The period of time covered by the matter in his last volume is from 1672 to the close of the century. The central-figure in it is that of the true and noble Count Frontenac. Most grandly is he presented in these graphic pages as the hero in will, purpose and endurance, clouded with a tinge of melancholy and some human weaknesses, yet firmly constant to the trust committed to him by his Monarch, and devoted through all the collisions with rivals in a divided power, and all the rough discipline of his surroundings, to the planting of the sway of France widely and permanently on this continent. It is but little to say that the Monarchs of England, while they held their old Colonies here, never had a representative officer, Governor or General, who could be named in ability and efficiency with Frontenac, the foremost of the Lieutenants of France. It was under his grand and energetic administration that France settled upon its purpose for a secure occupancy, if not a monopoly of this continent, and in so doing opened its disastrous struggle with England. Frontenac aimed to carry out the earnest instructions of the King and his Ministers, directing him to civilize the Indians by teaching them the French language, with arts and habits of industry. Faithfully did the

Governor make the effort. But the Jesuits and fur and brandy traders, secretly at first, and then in open defiance, thwarted him in all his measures. The story is a disgraceful one, as it impugns any practically religious or humane motives of the missionaries, but their condemnation rests upon evidence furnished by themselves, and Mr. Parkman is merely the interpreter of it from their own pens.

Frontenac was the King's Lieutenant in New France for the ten years from 1672 to 1682, when he was recalled that La Barre might fill the place. He was restored in 1689, when he was seventy years old, and died in office, in Quebec, November 28, 1698. Our author takes up this future hero of the wilderness in the gilded Court of Louis XIV. and traces his career from boyhood as a brave and ambitious soldier, unfitly yoked to an ungenial and trifling wife, who had no heart to accompany him hither, when at the age of fifty-two, in the glory of his manhood, and nerved to the rivalries and endurance which he was to face, he came up the St. Lawrence to Quebec as the King's Lieutenant. As Mr. Parkman writes:

"A man of courts and camps, born and bred in the focus of a most gorgeous civilization, he was banished to the ends of the earth, among savage hordes and half reclaimed forests, to exchange the splendors of St. Germain and the dazzling glories of Versailles for a stern grey rock, haunted by sombre priests, rugged merchants and traders, blanketed Indians, and wild bush-rangers. But Frontenac was a man of action. He wasted no time in vain regrets, and set himself to his work with the elastic vigor of youth. His first impressions had been very favorable. When, as he sailed up the St. Lawrence, the basin of Quebec opened before him, his imagination kindled with the grandeur of the scene. 'I never,' he wrote, 'saw anything more superb than the position of this town. It could not be better situated as the future capital of a great empire.'"

With this flush of satisfaction Frontenac began to examine and explore the scenes of his wild vice-royalty under its semi-civilized aspects, first realizing the cramp upon his dignity, as he "crouched on a sheet of bark, at the bottom of a birch canoe, scarcely daring to move his head to the right or left, least he should disturb the balance of the fragile vessel." His aim in planting his own power was to establish the old regime of three estates of clergy, nobles and commons, himself the central figure. He convoked what material he had for these in the Jesuits' Church, and eloquently harangued them. Next he set up a municipal government in Quebec. But from the first, Talon, who under the title of Intendant, and with the office of King's agent, held a division of executive power, which is alike confusing to our apprehensions as it was distracting for its

parties on the scene of action, embarrassed and withstood the measures of the Governor. Both of these officers were in correspondence with the King and his Minister, and mischief and discord followed. Frontenac also found that the claim of the Jesuits to supremacy "in spiritual matters" covered their own conception of what might properly come under that definition. The Canadian Bishop, Laval, then in France, contrived to acquaint himself with the contents of the Governor's letters to the Minister, Colbert, and to act as spy and traitor. Frontenac found a friend and hearty sympathiser in the young and noble La Salle, then in Quebec, who cooperated with him in his purpose of carrying out the project of his predecessor, Courcelle, of building a fort near the outlet of Lake Ontario for controlling the fur-trade, and for keeping in check the wily and ever deadly foes of the French, the Iroquois. In this project Frontenac came into sharp and angry collision with the independent traders, who were backed by the interest and influence of Perrot, Governor of Montreal, and a relative by marriage of the Intendant, Talon. The King had strictly charged his Lieutenant to arrest and suppress all that wild and mischievous class of men known as bush-rangers, or *coueurs de bois*, whose far wanderings and lone residences and reckless habits among the savages were sadly demoralizing. With these scourges of the forest also, Perrot connived. The Governor temporarily triumphed in his conflict with all these opposers, not without the imputation from enemies that he turned the profit of trade from others to himself. Fenelon, a Sulpician priest at Montreal, half brother of the author of *Télémaque*, was among the intriguers against Frontenac. The King and Colbert attempted conciliation, by rebuking opponents and advising the Governor to gentleness.

Duchesneau replaced Talon as Intendant, with more direct powers and instructions from the King, and the Bishop Laval came back to have his full share in the distractions. The brandy traffic among the Indians became the chief matter of strife, Duchesneau and the clergy being the party against the Governor. A year was necessary for the interchange of correspondence with the home government, and those first ocean mails bore voluminous documents between Governor, Intendant, priests, intriguers, and the confounded and bewildered officials near the throne, in vain seeking to adjust matters. Frontenac ascribed all his annoyances to the ambition of the clergy for supreme sway. He was not aware how much of them came from his own imperiousness of temper; for with all his nobleness he had faults and foibles. The patience of the King being exhausted, Frontenac was recalled in 1682.

The new Governor, La Barre, and a new Intendant, Meules, reached Quebec only to find the whole of the Lower Town in ashes by a disastrous fire, which consumed the larger part of the property accumulated in Canada. Under La Barre arose new complications in the ever-threatening relations between the French and their Indian allies with the pride and savagery of the Iroquois—the Dutch and English now coming in, in league with the latter as competitors in trade. The new governor while professing to the King that he kept his hands clear of traffic, was in fact a greedy speculator, and he was, of course, denounced by the Intendant, Meules. After a fruitless and humiliating campaign against the Iroquois, La Barre was recalled in disgrace by the King in 1685, by letters brought by Denonville, who superseded him—a brave and resolute soldier with the repute of piety. He in his turn engaged, in 1687, in a bootless and inglorious campaign against the Senecas. But the French had no longer to contend with their own red allies only against the deadly hostility of the tribes of northern and western New York. Governor Dongan of that Province received instructions from his sovereign to take up the feud; for he, as well as the French monarch, claimed the Iroquois as subjects. Artful and angry correspondence followed between the two Governors, loyal to their respective sovereigns, while negotiations were going on between the royal cabinets. The great aim of the French Governor was to help the Jesuits in the Iroquois towns as political agents and intriguers. In 1688 Andros superseded Dongan. The Intendant, Meules, had in his turn been recalled on the complaints of Denonville, and Champigny was sent in his place. Bands of Dutch and English, with their red allies took the war-path, and the wilderness with its savage tribes became the scene and actors in horrors aggravating the atrocities of native warfare. Canada was brought under the depths of humiliation, in exhaustion, poverty, famine and threatened extinction. The massacre of the French at La Chine, in 1689, seemed to be the final stroke of desolation. Denonville, a man of great qualities and petty foibles, valiant and devout, was recalled, leaving only the Jesuits to mourn or regret his departure. He had but failed where no one could hope for success.

And now, in 1689, Frontenac comes back to his former office with vigor unreduced and spirit not quailing at the ventures of his task, though the veteran was in his seventieth year. He was wiser too in judgment and more yielding in his temper. He came with a bold design for mastering New York. Whatever might have been the result of the attempt, it was baffled by delay and complication. The red allies whom France had counted upon as firmest in their fealty, vacillated,



made terms with the Iroquois and the English, and then taunted their old friends. Frontenac, with an undaunted resolve which partook of recklessness, organized three simultaneous expeditions against the English and the Iroquois—aiming at the capture of Schenectady, of Pemaquid and Salmon Falls, and of Fort Loyal (Portland). By evidence furnished from their own pens, Mr. Parkman offers us abundant proof that the Jesuit priests were instigators and guides in the atrocities of savage warfare. A degree of success for an interval revived the prospects of Canada.

Our author gives us a fresh and graphic sketch of the inglorious appearance of Massachusetts in the fray, in its attempt to anticipate the event, yet to be deferred for three quarters of a century, of wresting from the French monarch his whole wild domain. The French had projected an attack on Boston. The redoubtable Phips, afterwards first Provincial Governor of Massachusetts, takes Acadia, but by poor management loses the fruits of his success. Frontenac rallies his Indian allies and takes part with them in a war-dance. He was an officer and a man after their own heart. He understood them, he flattered, indulged and yet swayed them. His influence over them was electric, and their admiration of him was full and complete. He put Quebec into a strong state for defence to meet the threatened enterprise of Phips against it, which failed by delay, ill-conception and feeble conduct, and resulted in discomfiture and disaster. Equally abortive was a land expedition of the English by Lake Champlain. The peace of Ryswick gave but a lull to the conflict now fairly opened, to be continued to its long-deferred close between the colonists of rival European sovereignties and their fickle and treacherous savage allies in the New World. When Frontenac, worn with the fatigues and anxieties, the distractions and the rigors of his never intermitting strifes, paid the debt of nature, he was mourned as a mighty man, high and noble in motive, if not always consistent or wise. Malice and jealousy, if not ingratitude, mingled in the rehearsal of his obsequies, but could not drown the eulogies of those who had appreciated him. Monsieur de Callières succeeded to his office to meet, with slightly varied incidents and conditions, the same perplexities woven into the web of French domination in the New World. Mr. Parkman will work out for us the further development as it leads on to a tragic close.

A reader who has followed the course of Mr. Parkman's narrations of French adventure, enterprise and missionary zeal, devoted to opening the Northern borders and the Western depths of this continent, as he

muses upon the information spread before him, can hardly fail to be profoundly impressed by a question that will rise in his mind, in the form of a wonder or regret as over a sad and unrighteous close of a story or a tragedy. He will ask why and how it came about that France has nothing of present power, dominion or territory to show on this broad continent, as the assured and permanent result and harvest of its outlay of effort, zeal and sacrifice? Certainly, it would seem as if all just disposals of labor and rewards had been most signally thwarted and even outraged here. England has grasped and holds as colonial territory the region which French prowess and heroism opened to European possession for an enriching traffic and the conversion of savage tribes, and people of British stock, with their affiliated races, have sway over all the sweep of mountains, rivers and prairies that stretch between the two oceans. It seems as if by the scale of either poetical or political justice it should not be so. France had won the right of a permanent heritage and dominion here. All the contrasted facts which cover the history of French and English enterprise and colonization on our continent accrue to the claims of the former, as against the success and triumph of the latter.

French monarchs and ministers, with the coin of the realm and the direct instigation, oversight and patronage of emigration, fostered the work of exploration and colonization. The zeal of French ecclesiastics was engaged in an enthralling self-renunciation to dot the villages of the native tribes, by lake and river, by cataract and cornfield, and fishing rendezvous, deep within the recesses of the north and west, and where the fresh and salt waters mingled, with rude mission chapels and altar symbols. Forts and trucking houses marked the advances of the daring adventurers at the forks of rivers and in the bays of inland seas. Frenchmen became Indians in habit, garb and wild ways of life, as if to favor a general adoption of the savage by the civilized race. Intrepid explorers, sometimes alone, or in sparse companies, paddled their canoes and crossed the portages, carrying with them neither salt, nor bread, nor any of the necessities of life, to penetrate the depths of an unknown wilderness, finding their food in the forest or stream, subsisting it might be on roots and buds, or a soup made of their own tattered robes and moccasins. Other parties dragged painfully through thickets and over mountains, the tools, the cordage, the iron implements, the forge, and the cannon for building and arming vessels for the lakes. Annually, for scores of years, deep laden ships with their convoys from French ports, made their way through fog-banks and ice-bergs up the St. Lawrence, with supplies of men, goods and munitions, crowded with colonists and

soldiers, priests, nuns and hospital servants, bearing government officials, and the written mandates of French monarchs and ministers. All this enterprise had anticipated the first humble and meagre effort for English occupancy here, while for a century following there never was anything in English enterprise which suggested a rivalry with Frenchmen in the actual work of exploration, beyond the fringing of the Atlantic sea-board. The French at one time boasted that they were cramping the English to the margin of the ocean, and were holding them in terror. France has nothing now to show for all this, save in those touching memorials, like the legends on the grave stones of a buried generation, found in the Gallic names and the saintly titles born by inland stream and bay; waterfall or portage, village site or storied field, with its legend of miracle, piety or massacre.

On the other hand, how different were all the antecedents and conditions in the history of English ventures upon the soil which is now the rich heritage of her race. The two Cabots, not native subjects, but in the employ of the British monarch, having seen and coasted along our northern shores, gave to the realm its title of ownership of them, though any occupancy was long deferred. The most thrifty and successful of her colonists here stole away in secrecy from their English homes, neither asking nor receiving patronage or protection from their King, and engaged from the first in a jealous self-dependence which repudiated all help or interference with them. They kept close to the sea-board of the Atlantic, and left the western and even the northern wilds to the obscurity in which they found them.

The relations of the English with the Indians were from the first critical, jealous and every way precarious, and soon became ruthlessly hostile, indicative of the extermination which closed them. There was, indeed, an attempt at what was called their evangelization. But Puritanism stands in points of no stronger contrast with the old church than in those exhibited by the spirit and method of the Protestant and Jesuit missionary. The French priest became the intimate companion and equal of the savage, the inmate of his smoky and noisome lodge, and the sharer of his disgusting diet, alike in famine and in the feast. He would spend long years of isolation at his distant post, while his black robe turned to tatters or was patched with deer or beaver skin, training his rough flock in his brief catechism and his scenic retreat. But even the saintly Eliot tells us that with his English phlegm and stomach he never could endure the filthy, vermin-infested wigwam, nor share the unsavory lunch of his catechumens. He always took with him his necessary and

frugal food, and if he could not reach his home for the night, had his own separate couch. The priest was satisfied if his converts, chanting a few staves, or repeating the Lord's Prayer, would kneel around him as, with the furnishings of the forest, he performed the office of the mass, and if a procession of naked Indian children would follow him with torches made of native waxberries as an escort for a lifted cross. The formula of baptism, administered in an emergency with a spittle-moistened finger, would save a soul from the dark doom of the endless hereafter. The creed of the church, without instruction in Christian ethics or sentiments, was enough to insure conversion and redemption. For all else the Indian was left to be an Indian, free of the woods, unhoused, unclothed, the hunter, the warrior still, without the decencies or the frets of domestication and industry. But Eliot rested not till he had turned the gutturals and the grunts of the tribes of the forest into a written language, with grammar and dictionary, and with "words which had been lengthening ever since the confusion of tongues at Babel," had set forth in print the whole Bible, Chronicles and Prophecies, Gospels and Epistles, Psalms and Apocáypse. Eliot felt the joy of a crowned success only when the choicest of his converts was telling his experience after the method of a Puritan Conventicle, by the aid of the Assembly's Catechism, a Body of Divinity and an approved tractate on casuistry. He insisted that the Indians should substitute English styles of houses for the wigwam, a settled for a wandering life, and a trade or handicraft for the alternations of sleeping and hunting. Neither of these things would the Indian do, nor would he conform in anything to the "state of civility" which Eliot regarded as all-essential. The English looked upon and treated the Red Men with antipathy and contempt. The French went more than half-way towards a cordial assimilation with them, believing that it would be as idle to attempt to change their nature as it would be to extract the game flavor from the deer or sea-fowl, and really yielding to a *penchant* for some of their free and primitive ways of life. Thus alike by prior occupancy and explorations of the wildernesses of the New World, and by consort and alliance with its human tribes, the French might claim possession and dominance where they no longer float the banners and symbols either of monarchy or republic.

The English colonists fringing the Atlantic seaboard began in time to find that the French were instigators and allies of the savages in raids and massacres upon their frontiers. Yet so resolute still were the purpose and spirit of self-defense among them that they tried first to meet

the direful conflict with their own resources. But when the arms and ships of England came in to aid the colonists, it was not so much to extend them protection in place of former neglect as in jealousy of the continental enemy nearer home. The English colonists made common cause with the mother country in reducing and extinguishing the dominion of France on this continent, and learned in doing so why and how, some dozen years afterwards, successfully to set up for themselves. And thus it came about that France has no heritage where she planted, toiled and watered with such prowess and heroism. We marvel at this disposal of national awards as fatuitous, and are ready to say that it indicates an inequity in the adjustments of fortune.

But the reader of Mr. Parkman's volumes, while prompted by their perusal to ask why such has been the tragic issue of events, will find under his guidance a full explanation of the causes and agencies which wrought the result. We happen to have in hand a publication of this current year, the author of which raises an issue with Mr. Parkman on this point. In a brief and spirited essay M. Charles De Bonnechose, while adding a wreath to the memorial of Montcalm, is led to put the question we have asked above, and to give to it his own answer, as he mourns the fate of the French General and of the cause in which he fell.<sup>1</sup> He asks: "What was the respective situation of the two colonies as they proceeded to contend in a deadly duel? The English plantations, with their 1,500,000 inhabitants, were at this period twenty times more populous than Canada, which numbered then only 80,000. At the same time their territory, more compact and infinitely less extended than that of New France, was more easy of defence, it was besides backed by the sea and in direct communication with the metropolis; while after the loss of Acadia Canada had no other avenue than the St. Lawrence. To these advantages of situation and number add another: The British colonies were more rich and flourishing. To what cause shall we ascribe their superiority to our colonies, which were older? 'To the fruitful sway of political and religious liberty'—replies from Berlin to Boston, a certain school, which, under the pretext of celebrating in the fall of the French dominion in America, the defeat of despotism by liberty, does but exalt the victory of the Germanic over the Latin race." To this text the author subjoins the following note: "This explanation which is sought to be imposed on the public by Mr. Bancroft and his disciples, among the number of which is Mr. Francis Parkman (!), author of the book entitled 'The Old Regime in Canada,' is under lively discussion at this moment among Franco-Canadian publicists. According to them, it



is to other causes, chiefly to the enormous numerical disproportion of the population, that we ought to ascribe the more rapid progress of the English colonization. That which was lacking to New France for the development of the elements of its wealth was the million and a half of people, like its neighboring plantations, instead of 80,000. From 1606 to 1700 the English colonies had received 100,000 English or German emigrants, Canada 5,500 and Acadia 500. The same proportion held in the following century. The Gallic race, which has such admirable qualities for colonization, is absolutely set against the expatriation which is its first condition. Under Louis XV. it was necessary to resort to violence to people Louisiana. In our days Algeria, almost in sight of our shores, is still a desert." The author concludes that the inferiority of Canada in industry and agriculture was of slight import. Its military ruin came from its inferiority in men. "Though Canada had enjoyed all the liberties in the world it would have nevertheless lost its own. Never was a struggle more unequal, and the numbers more decisive. Our colony was not vanquished, crushed, but swamped by invasion, and at the cry of '*Vive la France!*' it was engulfed in the waves with its standard."

The explanation which M. De Bonnechose here offers will be found itself to need the help of explanatory facts which precede and qualify it. These we think are found scattered abundantly over Mr. Parkman's volumes, and some of the principal of them are forcibly stated in the following extracts from the one before us. Speaking of a series of conflicts on this continent, which were but episodes in the momentous question whether France or England should be mistress of the west, Mr. Parkman says:

"There was a strange contrast in the attitude of the rival colonies towards this supreme prize: the one was inert, and seemingly indifferent; the other, intensely active. The reason is obvious enough. The English colonies were separate, jealous of the crown and of each other, and incapable as yet of acting in concert. Living by agriculture and trade, they could prosper within limited areas, and had no present need of spreading beyond the Alleghanies. Each of them was an aggregate of persons, busied with their own affairs, and giving little heed to matters which did not immediately concern them. Their rulers, whether chosen by themselves or appointed in England, could not compel them to become the instruments of enterprises in which the sacrifice was present, and the advantage remote. The neglect in which the English court left them, though wholesome in most respects, made them unfit for aggressive action; for they had neither troops, commanders, political union, military organization, nor military habits. In communities so busy, and governments so popular, much could not be done, in war, till the people were roused to the necessity of doing it; and that awakening was still far

distant. Even New York, the only exposed colony, except Massachusetts and New Hampshire, regarded the war merely as a nuisance to be held at arm's length.

"In Canada, all was different. Living by the fur trade, she needed free range and indefinite space. Her geographical position determined the nature of her pursuits; and her pursuits developed the roving and adventurous character of her people, who, living under a military rule, could be directed at will to such ends as their rulers saw fit. The grand French scheme of territorial extension was not born at court, but sprang from Canadian soil, and was developed by the chiefs of the colony, who, being on the ground, saw the possibilities and requirements of the situation, and generally had a personal interest in realizing them. The rival colonies had two different laws of growth. The one increased by slow extension, rooting firmly as it spread; the other shot offshoots, with few or no roots, far out into the wilderness. It was the nature of French colonization to seize upon detached strategic points, and hold them by the bayonet, forming no agricultural basis, but attracting the Indians by trade, and holding them by conversion. A musket, a rosary, and a pack of beaver skins may serve to represent it, and in fact it consisted of little else.

"Whence came the numerical weakness of New France, and the real though latent strength of her rivals? Because, it is answered, the French were not an emigrating people; but, at the end of the seventeenth century, this was only half true. The French people were divided into two parts, one eager to emigrate, and the other reluctant. The one consisted of the persecuted Huguenots, the other of the favored Catholics. The government chose to construct its colonies, not of those who wished to go, but of those who wished to stay at home. From the hour when the edict of Nantes was revoked, hundreds of thousands of Frenchmen would have hailed as a boon the permission to transport themselves, their families, and their property to the New World. The permission was fiercely refused, and the persecuted sect was denied even a refuge in the wilderness. Had it been granted them, the valleys of the west would have swarmed with a laborious and virtuous population, trained in adversity, and possessing the essential qualities of self-government. Another France would have grown beyond the Alleghanies, strong with the same kind of strength that made the future greatness of the British colonies. British America was an asylum for the oppressed and the suffering of all creeds and nations, and population poured into her by the force of a natural tendency. France, like England, might have been great in two hemispheres, if she had placed herself in accord with this tendency, instead of opposing it; but despotism was consistent with itself, and a mighty opportunity was for ever lost.

"As soon could the Ethiopian change his skin as the priest-ridden king change his fatal policy of exclusion. Canada must be bound to the papacy, even if it blasted her. The contest for the west must be waged by the means which Bourbon policy ordained."

GEORGE E. ELLIS

<sup>1</sup> *Montcalm and Le Canada Francais*. Par Charles De Bonnechese. Paris, 1877.

## CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON

When a youth Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the most celebrated of the Maryland signers of the Declaration of Independence, endeavored to trace his ancestry back to that Irish Carroll "who was chief of the name, and was defeated at the battle of Knoc-Lee by Gerald Earle of Kildare in the year 1516." Later in life he was content to begin at Daniel Carroll of Litterloma, Kings County, Ireland. A son of Daniel, Charles Carroll of the Middle Temple, Barrister, came to America in 1680, and settled at Annapolis, in the Province of Maryland. He became the agent of Lord Baltimore in 1689; and we may credit him with personal qualities of a high order, since he held the agency for over thirty years for the absent Proprietary with fearlessness, honesty and firmness—an agency, it must be remembered, of a Catholic noble, whose power had just been overthrown by a religious party of different faith, whose jurisdiction had been usurped by the English crown, and whose individual rights in the soil and the revenues were held by an uncertain and precarious tenure.

In 1700 Charles, Lord Baltimore, granted to this Charles Carroll ten thousand acres of diversified and stream-fed land in Anne Arundel County, the same running from a branch of the Patuxent river to Thomas Browne's plantation, and from thence to landmarks which would be found rather indefinite at the present time, being "four Indian Cabbains." However, at the period, as the manor was in free socage, and the token of fealty was "four Indian arrowes," delivered annually at Windsor Castle, the "Cabbains" may have been convenient. These broad acres, with the manor house, descended through four generations of only sons, the third of whom was Charles Carroll of Carrollton—the prefix "Carrollton" having been adopted long before the Revolution, from a tract of land in Frederick County. He was born at Annapolis on the 20th September, 1737. At eight years of age he was sent to Europe, and passed six years at the English Jesuit College of St. Omers, one year with the French Jesuits at Rheims, two years at the College of Louis le Grand, at Paris, one year at Bourges to be taught the civil law, and two years, a second time, at Paris. In 1757 he took apartments in the Middle Temple, London, but never entered for his degree. He was fast friends while there with Mr. Jennings, son of the Attorney General of Maryland, and Mr. Graves, afterwards a member of Parliament; and

was contemporary during the year 1763 at least with Joseph Reed of New Jersey, Secretary and aid to Washington. He returned to Maryland in 1764, and was at once active in all measures which were taken in opposition to the encroachments of Great Britain. In 1765 he writes to his friend Graves: "Nothing can overcome the aversion of the people to the Stamp Act, and their love of liberty, but an armed force. Twenty thousand men would find it difficult to enforce the law, or, more properly speaking, ram it down our throats." At Annapolis it was Charles Carroll who gave the advice to the trembling Stewart to burn his vessel with its cargo of obnoxious tea, and the brig was towed into the harbor, and burned in broad day, amid the applauding shouts of the spectators, to the water's edge. He bore the brunt of the impetuous onslaught of the fiery Daniel Dulany in defense of popular rights. To his exertions it is owing that Maryland gave her unqualified adhesion to the Declaration of Independence; and he cheerfully embarked his life and fortune in the dark struggle. Of the revolutionary war, his words written in 1773 to Mr. Graves were prophetic, and showed with what fine forecast he judged the people among whom he dwelt. "The British troops if sent here, will be masters but of the spot on which they encamp. They will find nought but enemies before and behind them. If we are beaten in the plains, we will retire to our mountains, and defy them. Necessity will force us to exertion, until tired of combatting in vain against a spirit which victory after victory cannot subdue, your armies will evacuate our soil, and your country retire an immense loser from the contest." The public life of Mr. Carroll continued until 1801. He was an ardent Federalist, with a cordial hatred of the party of Jefferson. He was during this period four times elected a Senator of Maryland; three times a delegate to Congress. In 1776 he was appointed one of three Commissioners—the other two being Franklin and Samuel Chase—to persuade the Canadian province to join fortunes with the American colonies. Throughout Mr. Carroll was respected and loved for his excellent judgment, his nice sense of personal honor and his unswerving steadiness of conviction that whatever was right should be done at all hazards.

He married in 1768 Miss Mary Darnall, daughter of Henry Darnall, a kinsman of Lord Baltimore. He had been engaged many years before. The wedding dress had been ordered from London; but before the ceremony the lady died. The wedding dress then sent over, more than a hundred years ago, was worn in 1876 at one of the Martha Washington parties then so popular—the fabric almost untarnished by

time. One of Mr. Carroll's daughters married Richard Caton, an Englishman resident in Maryland; the other married Robert Goodloe Harper, a lawyer of decided ability. Of the three daughters of Mr. Caton, the eldest became Marchioness of Wellesley, the second Lady Stafford, and the youngest Duchess of Leeds. All died childless.

He survived all the signers of the Declaration of Independence, dying in 1832. From an oration delivered in the same year by Charles Constantine Pease, Chaplain of the Senate of the United States, the following picture of his later life at Doughoregan, is taken. "I have seen him, and it is delightful for me to represent him to you, spending his summers under those trees which his father's hand had planted nearly a century and a half ago, and which love to twine their hospitable boughs over the venerable mansion of Doughoregan. The manner in which he there spent his time, resembled the *Mitis Sapientia Loeli*. He arose very early to enjoy the fresh breeze of the morning, plunged into a cold bath, mounted his horse, and rode a certain number of miles; spent some time in prayer, and if the chaplain of the manor was there, heard mass in the chapel; and varied the long days by reading and conversing, and indulging in those meditations which the scenes of his past life, and the circumstances of the present period, were calculated to awaken in his philosophic mind."

All the British ministers who were sent to the National Capitol, the attachés, and nearly every prominent Englishman who visited this country, were guests of Mr. Carroll at Doughoregan; and Washington, Lafayette, Decatur, Jackson, Taney, and other distinguished Americans were welcomed there.

He had a well selected, but old fashioned library. He had but little taste for modern works. Among the valued books referred to in his letters, we find the Bishop of Meaux's "Histoire de Variations," the "History of Ireland" of the Abbe McGeoghegan, "Les Erreurs de Voltaire" with Voltaire's answer, and many other works of the same type.

We give a picture of the closing scene of his life. It is from an eyewitness of it, who died but a year ago, Dr. Richard Stewart. It was toward sundown in the month of November, and very cold weather. In a large room in his town house on Lombard Street—his bedroom—a group of the inmates of his household was gathered before a large open fireplace. The venerable Charles Carroll was reclining in a soft, padded, arm chair. In the centre of the space before him was a table, with blessed candles, an antique silver bowl of holy water, and a crucifix. By his side the priest, Rev. John C. Chaunce, afterward Bishop of Natchez, in

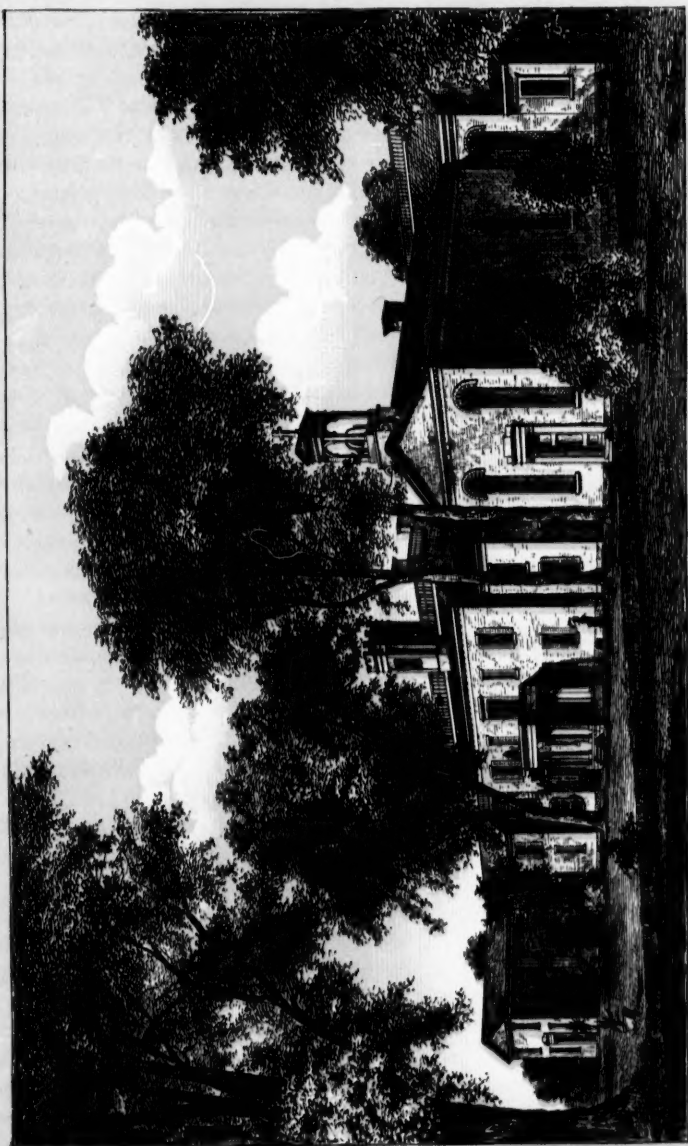


his rich robes, prepared to administer the last rites of his Church. On each side of the chair knelt children and grand-children, with some friends, and just in the rear, three or four old negro servants were devoutly on their knees. Mr. Carroll had, for a long time, been suffering with weak eye-sight, and could not endure the proximity of the lights. He leaned back with half closed eyes. The solemn ceremony proceeded and ended; the old man was lifted back to his bed, but he had fasted to receive the Sacrament and was too weak to rally. His last words were, "Thank you, Doctor," on being lifted into an easier position, and he died quickly, mindful to the last of others—tranquilly—a christian gentleman.

When Maryland was a Province, many of its wealthier citizens followed the English custom of having a town residence and a country seat. In Annapolis, the winter's gayety centered in the Governor's house, and the liberal homes of the Carrolls, Pocas, and others. Gambling, gossip and flirtation, the arrival of a vessel from England, the prospects of the tobacco crop, adventurers fresh from Europe, and visitors from Virginia and the North, the shifting aspect of the quarrels of the Proprietary with the Crown, religious controversy, Royalist intrigue and Democratic assertions, furnished the town with amusement and excitement.

In the spring came the departure for the country. The social leaders packed themselves, and their more precious possessions, into the family coach. This was a vehicle curious to modern eyes. It was imported; color, probably a light yellow, with conspicuous facings. The body was of mahogany, leather topped, and with three venetian windows on each side, projecting lamps, and a high seat upon which coachman and footman were perched. Mr. Carroll's coach came by country roads to the Frederick Turnpike, while others radiated north or west, to "My Lady's Manor," "De La Brooke," "Kent Fort," "Bohemia," or "Bel Air."

Charles Carroll owned several manors, and they are all noted for picturesqueness of situation, their fine outlook over hill and valley, and their noble groups of trees. Doughoregan manor is now in Howard County, a county formed from part of Anne Arundel. It is six miles above Ellicott's Mills, a thriving manufacturing village through which the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad passes. The southern boundary of the estate is the Patuxent River. At the time the grant of the Manor was made there was a landing on the Patapsco at ElkrIDGE, near Ellicott Mills, at which sloops loaded tobacco in huge hogsheads, stoutly hooped. These had been rolled over what is still known as "rolling" roads, singly, by means of a stout axle driven through the middle, to which long



DOUGHOREGAN MANOR HOUSE.



traces were attached. Two mules and a negro, the mules hitched tandem, were necessary to the proper conduct of each hoghead. Mr. Carroll was a wealthy man for those days, and shipped largely; and imported whatever was required for the supply of the manor direct from England, even down to the clothes worn by the family. The slaves wore homespun, as did many of the poorer class, and as did Mr. Carroll also at one period of his life, when it was resolved by the colonies to wear nothing and consume nothing coming from Great Britain. An estimate of his property, made in 1764, is worth giving. It was made by his own hand.

40,000 acres of Land ; Two Country Seats, - - -	£40,000
20 Houses at Annapolis, - - - - -	4,000
285 Slaves, at an average of £30 each, - - -	8,550
Stock on Plantations, - - - - -	1,000
Household Plate, - - - - -	600
Debts Outstanding, - - - - -	24,230
	<hr/> £88,380

The manor house of Doughoregan is the best specimen in the State of the old style of building when Maryland was a province of the English crown. These ancient mansions, of which there are many still preserved in Maryland, are of imported brick. The walls are very thick, and are as solid to-day as when erected. The architecture is that of England at the time. The ground plan is long and narrow, one room deep only, with two wings connected by passages, a wide portico, small, deep sunken, mullioned windows, and a low upper story. The line of roof is always well broken, either by difference in height as at Doughoregan, or by a pointed gable in the centre. The length of the Doughoregan mansion is three hundred feet. The central building is the family dwelling. A wide hall, heavily panelled, separates the apartments to right and left. On the walls hang English hunting scenes and old prints. On one side is the library, wainscoted high up in oak. Here Mr. Carroll in his latter days passed most of his time with Cicero's "De Senectute," which he grew to love so much as to write to a friend: "After the Bible read Cicero;" also with Milner's "End of Controversy," valued as the means of his conversion from the errors of free-thinking, and with other silent companions, mostly those of his youth and early manhood. On the walls of this room hang portraits of Mr. Carroll, his son and his grandson. Across the hall is the dining-room, arched and recessed, and with its portraits,

ranging from gentlemen in the full wigs of Addison's day and by-gone dames in stomacher and ruff to figures of modern times, when uglier fashions lend less gracious aid to the painter's art. The north wing is formed by the oldest private chapel in the United States.

Mr. Carroll was a strict Catholic; but this chapel was built long before his day, and soon after the "Protestant Revolution" of 1704. At that date an act was passed at Annapolis establishing the Church of England in the Province of Maryland. It was made penal for a bishop or priest of the Catholic Church to exercise the functions of his office in public. Liberty of worship in private houses was not disturbed. Out of this privilege grew the private chapels under the same roof as the dwelling, like the one at Doughoregan. This is still used for religious purposes, and the country people around still gather where for more than a hundred and fifty years the same service has ascended.

On the north wall of the chapel, and to the right of the altar, there is an entablature by Bartholomew. A pen rests upon the Declaration of Independence, the thirteen stars of the original States above, and over all the Cross. This was intended for the tomb of Mr. Carroll.

Around the manor house are three hundred acres of park and lawn. The slaves' quarters, still in a good state of preservation, and dominated by the overseer's house, form a small village in themselves. The manor has never been divided until of late years. Now it is cut up into farms owned by members of the Carroll family. The library of Charles Carroll, the signer, has been sold by auction, and the present owner of Doughoregan—Mr. John Lee Carroll, Governor of Maryland, and a gentleman of respectable abilities—talked some time ago of putting a French roof on the antique manor house. It is to be hoped that no such grotesque fate will befall the plain, comfortable, noble old dwelling, with its splendid elms, its beautiful vistas of garden shrubbery, its magnificent knarled and knotted ancient forest trees, and its air of olden comfort and repose. It furnishes a quaint and imposing landmark of the past, whereby we may note how pleasantly they lived in those days, and how they builded, not for a day or a year, but for centuries of use and habitation.

JOHN C. CARPENTER



## DIARY OF JOSHUA PELL, JUNIOR

AN OFFICER OF THE BRITISH ARMY

IN AMERICA 1776-1777

From the original in the possession of  
James L. Onderdonk, Esq.

## Part II

30th May [1777] the Advance Corps rendezvous'd at their several alarm posts.

3rd June, encamp'd on Hessians Farm opposite St. Johns.

5th June, left the camp at Hessians Farm; and arriv'd at Point au Fer early the morning of the 6th.

8th June, we left Point au Fer, arriv'd same Evening at the River Sable. This day arriv'd the Inflexible Capt'n Brown, and a new Ship call'd the Royal George of 26 guns, Capt'n Lutwidge Commander and Commodore of the Fleet employ'd on the Lake.

## A LIST OF THE ENGLISH FLEET ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

Commanders Names	Ships Names	No. of Guns	No. of Men
Capt. Lutwidge as Com.	Royal George	26	130
Capt. Brown	Inflexible	22	100
Lt. Starks	Maria	16	80
Lt. Lencroft	Carlton	14	70
Lt. Broughton	Washington	16	80
Lt. Falconer	Thunder	16	90
	Land Crab	7	30
Lt. Stowe	Lee	8	30
Lt. Harrison	Jersey	8	30
		133	640

11th June arriv'd at River Bouquett.

17th June, an advanc'd party of our Indians, defeated a party of Rebels, near Tyconderoga, they kill'd four and took four prisoners.

23rd June left the River Bouquett arriv'd at Chimney Point 25th.

2nd July Capt'n Frasers Corps of Indians and Volunteers, engag'd a strong party of the Rebels before Tyconderoga, defeated them and drove them into their lines; we had one Indian kill'd and five wounded, one Lieutenant and two Vol-

unteers wounded. The Rebels had a Lieut and seven kill'd and eleven wounded.

3rd July we invested Tyconderoga.

6th July, the Rebels abandon'd it, the whole Army took Possession the same day. Part of the Advanced Corps took the Route same day for Hubbertown as did the British Brigades for Skanesborough. 7th July, Part of the Advance Corps came up with the Rebels at Hubberton, about six in the morning, very strongly posted; the Rebels consisted of near two thousand, and form'd behind the inclosures, which in this Country are compos'd of large Trees, laid one upon the other and makes a strong breastwork: The advance Corps consisted of ten Company's of British Light Infantry, ten Comp'ys of British Grenadiers, and two Company's of the 24th Regiment, the whole amounted to no more than eight hundred men; our Men form'd briskly, ascended the Hill within thirty yards of the Rebels and immediately began a brisk fire, which lasted one hour and half, three Companies of the Germans arriv'd time enough, to have a share in the action,

and behav'd exceedingly well, particularly the Company of Chasseurs; the Rebels was totally routed with great slaughter, they had one Colonel kill'd, a Francis who commanded; with sundry inferior Officers, and two hundred men, we took a Colonel Hale prisoner with many other Officers, and Men, amounting to more than three hundred, the Number of the enemy's wounded must be considerable, tho' not properly ascertain'd, as the later part of the engagement was in a Wood, and many

must have languish'd of their wounds, it being impossible to find them. On our part we had a Major Grant, one Capt., two Lieuts killed; and two Majors, Earl Belcarras & Ackland, four Captains, eight Lieutenants, wounded, two serjeants, twenty four Rank and File kill'd; ten serjeants, one hundred and nine Rank and File wounded: The Germans had two kill'd one Lieutenant & twenty two wounded. The Rebels hearing that our Army was advancing towards Skeansborough, quit it with precipitation, leaving the greatest part of their Bagage behind them. Colonel Hill with the ninth Regiment only, came up with them near Fort Anne on the 8th engag'd & defeated them, tho' they were six times his number; in consequence of these successes we are become Masters of all their Artillery, stores and baggage &c. and all the Country beyond Fort Anne; Capt'n Carter of the Artillery, with part of the Gun-boats took two of their arm'd Vessels, destroyed three and all their Batteaux.

22nd July left Skeneborough, arriv'd at Fort Anne 24th.

26th we left Fort Anne. 28th arriv'd at Kingsboro two Miles from Fort Edward.

27th July in the night, the Rebels abandoned Fort Edward.

30th July we remov'd to the height one mile on the other side Fort Edward, near the Road leading to Albany, the Rebels advanc'd post one mile in our front. Same evening the Indians, and Jessop's Corps of American Volunteers, attack'd their advanc'd post, and drove them on the other side of Hudson's River with the loss of one Man only.

Same Night the whole Rebel Army retreated; such is the natural bravery of our Indians, for they know nothing of the Art of War, they put their Arms into a Canoe, and swim over the River, pushing the Canoe before them, and many of them carried their Fuzees in their mouths, with their powder horns ty'd upon their Heads.

3rd August a party of Indians and American Volunteers, went on a Scout, they fell in with an advanc'd Guard of the Rebels, consisting of three hundred Men (under the command of a Major), at sunrise on the 4th the Rebels were defeated with the loss of four kill'd (amongst whom was the Major) and seven Prisoners; same Day another party of our Indians defeated a body of the Rebels and kill'd eleven of them.

13th August a party of about five hundred and fifty Men consisting of Fraser's Company of Volunteers, Phrestors Company of Provincials, Indians and Canadians, Chasseurs, General Redizel's Dragoons dismounted, mov'd toward Bennington.

14th Mov'd to Batten Kill.

15th Mov'd to Saratoga, the West Side Hudson's River.

16th The Rebels consisting of 4000 attack'd our party who had march'd the 13th near St. Coicks Mills, and totally defeated them, and took four pieces of Cannon, two three, and two six pounders: The Redizel Dragoons who consisted of 170 before the engagement, only five return'd; and of Fifty Chasseurs, one serjeant and fourteen return'd; and of one hundred and sixty Indians, thirty only return'd; this little army was commanded by Lieut. Colonel

Baume entirely at the desire of General Redizel, and everything was expected (that was designed) from this expedition.

18th August repass'd Hudson's River to Batten Kill.

14th Septr we passed Hudson River to Fish Kill, a small Rivulet, running from Lake Saratoga to Hudson's River near Schuyler's House.

15th Septr mov'd to Devogot.

17th Mov'd to Swords Farm.

18th A scout of the Rebels attacked a party of our men, who were unarm'd gathering Roots about one mile from Camp, they kill'd and carrid off several prisoners.

19th Septr Mov'd from Swords Farm; about one oclock the Piquetts of the Line fell in with the Advance Guard of the Rebels, consisting of three hundred Rifle Men under the command of a Captain they engag'd about half an hour, when they retreated the Captain with twelve men were made prisoners.

About two o'clock the 9th, 20th, 21st and 62nd Regiments were engaged by the Rebels near Freeman's Farm, they was strongly posted in a wood with a deep Ravine in their front, the fire was so hot upon the 20th, 21st and 62nd that they broke, but by the spirited behavior of their Officers were immediately rallied, and drove them from them. Major Agnew with the 24th Regt advanc'd into the wood, in order to flank them; on the first onset the Rebels retired in confusion, but the fire from the line having abated considerably at this time, and the Rebels finding their left Flank in danger, poured a strong force upon this Regt which caused them to retire

about one hundred yards behind an inclosure in a grass field; the Rebels fought bravely in the woods, but durst not advance one Inch toward the Open Field.

The 24th Battalion received orders to file off by the left, they took the wood, before them firing after them own manner from behind Trees, and twice repuls'd their repeated reinforcements without any assistance; The before mention'd Regiments and a Body of Germans arriv'd time enough with two pieces of Cannon to share in the defeat of the third attack. At half past 5 o'clock General Arnold with a detachment of 1500 men, advanc'd on our right, the Battallion of Grenadiers was very opportunely posted there, gave the Rebels two Volleys, which made them retreat in confusion. The firing totally ceas'd about half past six o'clock.

The Rebels were in general drunk, a piece of policy of their General in order to make them fight.

The Artillery under Captain Jones behav'd remarkably well as likewise the whole of the Army that was engag'd.

We had four Captains, nine subalterns, eleven sergeants, two hundred and nineteen Rank and file kill'd; Two Lieut Colos, two Majors, seven Captains, thirteen subalterns, six Sergeants, four hundred Rank and file wounded. The loss of the Rebels is not positively ascertain'd, for as their Detachments retreated, they carried off as many of their kill'd and wounded as they could, they left about three hundred dead in the Field. We lay on our Arms all Night as we had done the two preceeding ones; on the 20th in the afternoon we form'd

Battalia from Hudson's River on our left, to Freeman's Farm on our Right two Miles, we lay on our Arms this night likewise, and in the Morning of the 21st pitch'd our Tents; our Piquets and advanced guards were frequently skirmishing till the 7th Oct.

On the 7th Oct. detachments from the Army were order'd to parade at 10 o'clock consisting of Capt'n Frasers Co. of Marksmen.

	Lt. Co.,—M.,—C.,—S.,—R. & f.	
	1 — 2 — 50	
	Lt. Co.,—M.,—C.,—S.,—R. & f.	
	1 — 2 — 50	
Canadian Volunteers and		
Provincial Do.	2 — 4 — 100	
Grenadiers	1 — 5 — 10 — 250	
Lt. Infantry	1 — 5 — 10 — 250	
24th Regiment	1 — 4 — 9 — 200	
Total Advance Corps	1 — 2 — 17 — 35 — 850	
	Lt. Co.,—M.,—C.,—S.,—R. & f.	
	1 — 4 — 8 — 100	
Lieut. Col. Bremens Corps		
Detachments from the		
British Regiment of the		
Line	— — 3 — 5 — 250	
Regt of Hesse Hanau	— — — — 300	
Artillery	— — — — 100	
Total	2 — 2 — 24 — 48 — 1700	

These detachments mov'd according to order, by the right in three Columns: Light Infantry and 24th Regiment with Bremens Corps form'd the Column of the Right with two six pounders, taking their route thro' the Wood on the Right of Freemans Farm.

The Grenadiers and Regiment of Hesse Hanau, form'd the Center Column with two twelve pounders, and two eight inch Howitzers marching thro' the open Field; The Detachments of the Line, with the Canadian Volunteers and Provincials form'd the Column of the left marching thro' the wood where the engagement on the 19th September was fought; about 3 o'clock a body of Reb-

els march'd out of their Lines (which assured us they had intelligence of our being in motion) toward our right, and another under cover of a Wood, mov'd toward our twelve pounders rather to their left we form'd as follows: The Light Infantry with their Right occupying a height, next the 24th Regiment, and Bremens Corps on their left which form'd the right face, one hundred yards distance from the twelve pounders; Then the Regiment of Hesse Hanau, next the Battalion of British Grenadiers, on their left the Detachments of the Line, Provincials Canadians and Frasers Marksmen which form'd the left face.

About four o'clock the Action became very hot upon the Regiment of Hesse Hanau and the British Grenadiers. The 24th Regt. was order'd to move to the left of the British Grenadiers; on seeing this reinforcement the Rebels retreated, the Body that march'd towards our Right, and was commanded by Major Genl. Arnold march'd thro' the Wood, on the right of the height occupied by the Light Infantry until he came in front of Bremens Lines, which he reconnoitred and finding them weakly man'd he immediately storm'd and carried them; on which we were ordered to retreat to our Lines. The Number of the Rebels engaged were six thousand, in two columns, as above mentioned, under the command of Lincoln and Arnold.

On our retreating the whole rush'd from their Lines and began a very spirited attack upon ours which was bravely defended by the British, and Night coming on, put an end to the Action. We lost the two twelve pounders and four six pounders; we had Brigadier Genl. Fra-

ser, Lieut. Colonel Bremen, two Captains, seven subalterns, five Sergeants, one hundred and sixty Rank and file killed: Majors Ackland and Williams, with two Captains, eight subalterns, sixteen serg'ts, seven Drums two hundred and thirty four Rank and file prisoners.

In the Night about one o'clock we struck Tents and retreated to the heights on our left, near Hudson's River; on the 8th about seven o'clock a large body of Rebels advanc'd towards us along the River side. A Cannonade immediately began in about half an hour, they retreated, leaving a party to cover two six-pounders which continued to play without doing any damage, except killing one Artillery man, and a horse; about Noon we dismounted one of their guns, on which they drew off the other, and retreated; at sunset they began a fresh cannonade, which ceas'd with the day, doing no damage. We retreated again this night, and arriv'd on the heights of Devogot about 8 o'clock on the morning of the 9th having intelligence that a body of Rebels was advancing to harass our Rear, we again began to retreat, and arriv'd at Fishkill about seven o'clock, which we immediately cross'd, and took post on the height of Saratoga.

On the 10th the Rebels advance party made their appearance the other side of Fish Kill, on a small hill near Schuyler's House; the 24th Battalion being posted close to the River, had a Captain and six Men wounded by their Riflemen, who fired from the tops of Trees of the other side.

A disposition was made for retreating this evening, but advice being receiv'd that the Rebels were in possession of the

heights of Fort Edward, which commanded the Ford of the River; the retreat was countermanded.

General Burgoyne was astonished when he heard the Rebels were in possession of the above mentioned heights; the manner they effected it was as follows:—

When the Militia of Massachusetts Bay receiv'd orders to join General Gates, those who had horses (to ease themselves of the fatigue of the journey) took them with them; on the 9th Genl. Gates gave orders for the assembling all the horses of that Army (Artillery horses excepted) a detachment of one thousand Men was order'd likewise to assemble at sunset the same evening, with two pieces of Cannon, he order'd two men to mount each horse, and one each of those that drew the cannon.

Brigadier Fellows commanded this detachment, and his orders was to march on the east side of the River, pass the British Army that night, and take possession of the heights of Fort Edward, before he stopt, which he effected early the morning of the 10th; the distance is about twenty-six miles.

On the 11th we saw Body's of the Rebels marching and taking possession of the heights opposite to us on the east side of the River Hudson.

On the 12th frequent cannonading and skirmishing; commanding officers of Regiments were sent for by General Burgoyne, to know what a face their Regiments bore. The answer of the British, they would fight to a Man. The German officers returned to their Regiments, to know the disposition of their Men; they answer'd, "nix the money, nix the rum, nix fighten."



The British Regiments being reduced in number to about nineteen hundred, and having no dependence on the Germans; General Burgoyne on the 13th October open'd a treaty with Major Genl. Gates.

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LETTER OF THOMAS PAINE TO  
CITIZEN DANTON.

Paris *May 6 (second year of the republic)*. Citoyen Danton: As you read English, I write this letter to you without passing it through the hands of a translator.

I am exceedingly distressed at the distractions, jealousies, discontents, and uneasiness that reign among us, and which if they continue, will bring ruin and disgrace on the republic. When I left America in the year 1787 it was my intention to return the year following, but the French revolution, and the prospect it afforded of extending the principles of liberty and fraternity through the greater part of Europe, have induced me to prolong my stay upwards of six years. I now despair of seeing the great object of European liberty accomplished, and my despair arises not from the combined foreign powers, not from the intrigues of aristocracy and priestcraft, but from the tumultuous misconduct with which the international affairs of the present revolution is conducted.

All that can now be hoped for is limited to France only, and I perfectly agree with your motion of not interfering in the government of any foreign country, nor permitting any foreign country to interfere in the government of France. This decree was necessary as a prelim-

inary towards terminating the war; but while those internal contentions continue, while the hope remains to the enemy of seeing the republic fall to pieces, while not only the representatives of departments but representation itself is publicly insulted, as it has lately been and now is, by the people of Paris, or at least by the tribunes, the enemy will be encouraged to hang about the frontiers and wait the event of circumstances.

I observe that the confederated powers have not yet recognized Monsieur or d'Artois as regent, nor made any proclamation in favor of the Bourbons; but this negative conduct admits of two different conclusions. The one is that of abandoning the Bourbons and the war together; the other is that of changing the object of the war and substituting a partition scheme in the place of their first object, as they have done by Poland. If this should be their object the internal contentions that now rage will favor that object far more than it favored their former object. The danger every day increases of a rupture between Paris and the departments. The departments did not send their deputies to Paris to be insulted, and every insult shown to them is an insult to the department that elected and sent them. I see but one effectual plan to prevent this rupture taking place, and that is to fix the residence of the convention and of the future assemblies at a distance from Paris.

I saw, during the American Revolution, the exceeding inconveniences that arose by having the Government of Congress within the limits of any municipal jurisdiction. Congress first resided at Philadelphia, and, after a residence of

four years it found it necessary to leave it. It then adjourned to the state of Jersey; it afterwards removed to New York; it again removed from New York to Philadelphia, and, after experiencing in every one of these places the great inconvenience of a government within a government, it formed the project of building a town, not within the limits of any municipal jurisdiction, for the future residence of Congress. In every one of the places where Congress resided the municipal authority privately or openly opposed itself to the authority of Congress, and the people of each of these places expected more attention from Congress than their equal share with the other states amounted to. The same thing now takes place in Paris, but in a far greater excess.

I see also another embarrassing circumstance arising in Paris of which we have had full experience in America. I mean that of fixing the price of provisions. But if this measure is to be attempted, it ought to be done by the municipality. The convention has nothing to do with regulations of this kind, neither can they be carried into practice. The people of Paris may say they will not give more than a certain price for provisions, but they cannot compel the country-people to bring provisions to market, the consequence will be directly contrary to their expectations, and they will find dearness and famine instead of plenty and cheapness. They may force the price down upon the stock in hand, but after that the market will be empty. I will give you an example.

In Philadelphia we undertook among other regulations of this kind, to regu-

late the price of salt; the consequence was that no salt was brought to market, and the price rose to thirty-six shillings sterling per bushel. The price before the war was only one shilling and six pence per bushel; and we regulated the price of flour (farine) till there was none in the market and the people were glad to get it at any price.

There is also another circumstance to be taken into account which is not much attended to, the assignats are not of the same value they were a year ago, and as the quantity increases the value of them will diminish. This gives the appearance of things being dear when they are not so in fact, for in the same proportion that any kind of money falls in value, articles rise in price. If it were not for this the quantity of assignats would be too great to be circulated. Paper money in America fell so much in value from the excessive quantity of it, that in the year 1781 I gave three hundred paper dollars for one pair of worsted stockings. What I write you on this subject is experience not merely opinion.

I have no personal interest in any of those matters, nor in any party disputes; I attend only to general principles. As soon as a constitution shall be established, I shall return to America, and be the future prosperity of France ever so great, I shall enjoy no other part of it than the happiness of knowing it. In the meantime I am distressed to see matters so badly conducted, and so little attention paid to moral principles. It is these things that injure the character of the Revolution and discourage the progress of liberty all over the world.

When I began this letter I did not

intend making it so lengthy, but since I have gone thus far I will fill up the remainder of the sheet with such matters as shall occur to me.

There ought to be some regulation, with respect to the spirit of denunciation that now prevails. If every individual is to indulge his private malignancy or his private ambition, to denounce at random and without any kind of proof, all confidence will be undermined and all authority be destroyed. Calumny is a species of treachery that ought to be punished as well as any other kind of treachery. It is a private vice productive of a public evil, because it is possible to irritate men into disaffection by continual calumny, who never intended to be disaffected. It is, therefore, equally as necessary to guard against the evils of unfounded or malignant suspicion as against the evils of blind confidence. It is equally as necessary to protect the characters of public officers from calumny as it is to punish them for treachery or misconduct. For my own part I shall hold it a matter of doubt, until better evidence arise than is known at present, whether Dumourier has been a traitor from policy or resentment. There certainly was a time when he acted well, but it is not every man whose mind is strong enough to bear up against ingratitude, and I think he experienced a great deal of this before he revolted.

Calumny becomes harmless and defeats itself when it attempts to act upon too large a scale. Thus, the denunciations of the sections against the twenty-two deputies falls to the ground. The departments that elected them are better judges of their moral and political

characters than those who have denounced them. This denunciation will injure Paris in the opinion of the departments, because it has the appearance of dictating to them what sort of deputies they shall elect. Most of the acquaintance that I have in the convention are among those who are in that list, and I know there are not better men nor better patriots than what they are.

I have written a letter to Murat of the same date as this, but not on the same subject. He may show it to you if he chooses. *Votre ami.*

THOMAS PAINE. [L. S.]

*From the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1876.*

#### A REMARKABLE CHARACTER

*From the Portsmouth (N. H.) Journal.*

There is at the Almshouse in this town a very venerable and interesting old man, whose name is Donald MacDonald. He was born at Inverness, Scotland, in the reign of George I., Oct. 14, A. D. 1722. His birth place was at a little distance from the field where the celebrated battle of Culloden was afterwards fought. His grand parents belonged to Inverness; his grandfather lived to be 131 years of age and "crawled on all fours before he died." Donald's father, named John MacDonald, was a farmer of Inverness. He lived to be 107 years of age, and served in Queen Ann's wars; he had 14 children, of whom Donald was the youngest. His death was caused by some accident as late as the year 1779. The mother lived to the age of 98.

Donald himself was taught the Erse language as his mother-tongue and was

educated in the Roman Catholic faith, to which he is still attached, and he talks of the preaching of Father Foster, the minister of his childhood. When Donald was only nine years of age, he went to sea as a Captain's Boy. His first voyage was to Canton, and it lasted about three years and a half. He continued going to sea till he was 17 years of age, when he enlisted as a private in the English army, and was attached to the Black Highland Watch, a regiment so called from wearing a black dress, but which afterwards received the name of the 42d Royal Highlanders. In the year 1746 he went over to Flanders, served in the Campaign there, and received several sabre wounds in the head, one of which has left a large scar running from his forehead to the back part of his head. His regiment behaved so gallantly in that battle, that the French general said, if it had not been for the broad swords and blue caps, he would have destroyed the army. After this battle he went in 1748 to Hamburg, where he remained two years and three months; continuing in the 42d Royal Highlanders he came over with them under Gen. Braddock in 1752 to this country. He arrived at Alexandria and went to Pittsburgh, where the army had many skirmishes with the Indians, and was with Braddock at the time of his death. After peace was made with the Indians in 1755, MacDonald went to Philadelphia and then to Ticonderoga, where he was again engaged in a severe action; afterwards he went with his regiment to Albany, descended by water to New York, and embarked with three transports for Quebec. When off the plains of Abra-

ham, he among others were actively engaged in cutting into steps the precipitous and high bank of the river; he states the troops ascended them two by two, and were soon marshalled on the Plains. He was at this time a sergeant; he says Wolfe gave the word of command with a strong and noble voice and he saw him repeatedly on the field. He remained four months in Quebec and then went home to Scotland, and in 1760 was married to Mary MacDonald. Being discharged from the army he came out in 1761 with his wife and one child to New York and ever afterwards considered New York as his home. In 1776 he shipped at Baltimore to join Paul Jones, and states that he was captured by an English frigate off Long Island, and confined on board the Prison ship Jersey four years and upwards. On being released he joined the American army, but Gen. Washington sent him to New York to his wife and children, lest he should be severely treated, if again made a prisoner of war, and kindly furnished him a passport home. After the revolution he was often employed as a sailor in the merchant service. He served three years as a seaman on board an American frigate.

He has continued to go to sea till about 15 years since, when sailing from Eastport to Halifax, he was so much frozen as to lose entirely the use of his fingers, and his little fingers were amputated. His home is the Alms House at New York; his wife has been dead about 65 years; he has had five children, only two are now living, one is a daughter about 67 years of age, married and residing in Albany, the other is a son settled in St. Andrews, New Brunswick.

For little more than a year Mr. MacDonald has been living with a son at Buffalo, but the son dying the last autumn, the father proposed to go to St. Andrews to pass the remainder of his days with his other and only son. Much of the way from Buffalo Mr. MacDonald has traveled on foot, and states that he can and does walk about a dozen or fourteen miles a day with ease. Discouraged and disappointed in hearing nothing about his son at St. Andrews, he will extend his journey no further eastward than this place, but designs as soon as the state of the roads will permit to return to New York. Mr. MacDonald is five feet six inches in height, well built and still shows a brawny muscle. He has a strongly marked intelligent countenance expressive of great firmness and ardour. His complexion is fair and inclining to be florid, exhibiting few wrinkles and by no means extreme old age. His posture is but little inclined when he walks; and his step is firm and elastic and his movements light and easy. The top of his head is bald, but the sides and back present long and thick silvery locks. His eyesight is too much dimmed for reading, but in other respects he does not seem to experience any material inconvenience from it. He is a good deal deaf, but with his right ear hears distinctly a strong clear voice. All his upper teeth are gone, but the greater part of his lower teeth remain and are all double. His memory is perfectly good, and he converses with a strong voice and in very good language. He professes a sincere belief in religion and has been a communicant in the Roman Catholic Church. He is poor though happy, and

we hope that he will ever find friends throughout his journey of life.

The above is the account which he gives of himself. We vouch not for its truth, but a severe cross-examination does not allow us to doubt his narrative. Strange to tell he has not received any pension money from England or this country; and those who have any compassion for this poor scarred veteran soldier, now in the *one hundred and fifth* year of his age, may assist in paying a just claim on our country, may sweeten the last days of an unfortunate stranger; and experience some of the richest benedictions from the Almighty Almoner.—*Commercial Advertiser*, February 21, 1827.

#### NOTES

COPLEY THE ARTIST.—The story of Copley's "Boy with a Squirrel," which, sent to London, obtained so much favor that he was advised to go to England, is well known. The picture represents his half-brother, Henry Pelham, seated at a table, on which is perched a squirrel cracking a nut. Owing to the non-arrival of the letter which should have accompanied it the artist's name was not known, and it was some time before his correct address was ascertained; even then he was at first styled William Copley, a fact which we learn from the Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds, as also that the picture was placed on exhibition in 1766. The London *Chronicle* of May 17, 1766, contains "A candid and impartial Review of the Paintings exhibited at the Great Room, Spring Garden, Charing Cross," by Candidus, St. James, Smyrna Coffee-house." Concerning No. 24 the



writer makes the following observation : "A boy with a flying squirrel, very clear. I am told that this is the performance of a young artist; if so, with proper application there is no doubt of his making a very good painter. The shadow of the flesh rather too dark."

This painting undoubtedly first drew attention to the artist's merits in the old country, but as Copley did not visit England until some eight years later, it can scarcely be supposed that it was the praises of this one production of his pencil which induced such a change on his part. In 1772 he finished the portrait of Mrs. Mary Devereux, wife of Capt. Humphrey Devereux of Marblehead. This lady, then at the age of 62 years, the daughter of Captain John Charnock of Boston, was by a former marriage the mother of John Greenwood, an American artist, prior to Copley, and then located in London. To this gentleman the picture was sent, and placed on exhibition. The writer has a pencil outline of the painting, beneath which is the following inscription :

"Portrait of my Grandmother. Copied from a picture painted by J. S. Copley at Boston in 1772.

"N. B. This picture was sent to England, and gained Copley so much credit as induced him to visit that country, where he has remained ever since."

The original is in the possession of Dr. John D. Greenwood of Motueka, New Zealand, and it is related in the family that so much did Reynolds admire the painting that on visiting the house of Mr. Greenwood, the artist, on Leicester Square, in London, he would mount a table the better to examine it,

exclaiming after a lapse of time, and with a shake of his head : "Ah ! Copley does not paint like that now !"

ISAAC J. GREENWOOD.

NEW ENGLAND FLAG.—In 1705 Prince George of Denmark, the Royal Consort and Lord High Admiral, by direction of Queen Anne prepared drawings of all the flags, ensigns and signals necessary for the use of the navy and vessels of commerce of the kingdom, to the number of seventy-six. They were engraved on one plate, adopted by Royal Proclamation, and published for circulation under the title, "A general view of the flags which most nations bear at sea." Sea Laws, 2d ed., p. 1. Among these flags was the "New England Ensign," which thus became established by law. It was a red flag—a red field with a St. George's cross, and in the upper canton of the St. George union, next to the staff, was a tree. The New England Ensign was the regular English Ensign, with the addition of the tree.

The following is a copy of the Royal Proclamation, copied from Sea Laws, 2d edition, page 684. It can also be found in the Boston *News Letter* of October 29, 1705.

"By the Queen—A Proclamation.

"Anne R.

"Whereas, it has been Represented to us, That not only many Inconveniences have already happened, but that the like may hereafter attend the Trade of Our Subjects, not only in their Outward, but Homeward bound Voyages, for want of necessary Instructions and Signals to be observed by the Captains of Our Ships of War, which shall have Merchant

Ships and Vessels under their Convoy, as well as by the respective Masters of those Ships and Vessels.

"And Whereas, there has been prepared and laid before Us, by Our most Dear Consort, Prince George of Denmark, Our High Admiral of England, a Draught of such Instructions and Signals as may be proper on this Occasion: We therefore, out of Our Princely Care and Compassion of all our Loving Subjects Trading by Sea, and for their better Protection and Security, have thought fit, by and with the Advice of Our Privy Council, to issue out this Our Royal Proclamation, hereby strictly charging and requiring all Masters of Merchant Ships and Vessels belonging to Our Subjects, not only to furnish themselves from time to time with the said Instructions and Signals from the Commander-in-Chief of the Convoy they may be under, for which purpose the same shall be Printed and Transmitted to them, but also to take particular care to comply with every Part of the said Instructions, which are calculated on purpose for the Safety and Security of them and their Ships, and the Merchant's Effects on board them.

Given at Our Court at St. James's the Third Day of May, in the Fourth Year of Our Reign.

Ann. Dom. 1705.

God Save the Queen."

E. C. B.

ANECDOTE OF GENERAL WAYNE. — *Bon repos* is the French cant for good night. Washington drank it for a signal to break up; for the moment the company had swallowed the General's *bon*

*repos* it was take hats and retire. General Wayne, who, fortunately for America, understood fighting much better than French, had some how or other taken up a notion that this same *bon repos*, to whom Washington always gave his last bumper, must have been some great warrior of times of old. Having by some extraordinary luck gotten into his possession two or three dozen of good old wine, he invited a number of hearty fellow-officers to dine with him, and help him to break them to the health of America. As soon as the cloth was removed and the bottles on the table, the hero of Stony Point cried out: "Come, my brave comrades, fill your glasses—here's old *bon repos* forever!" The officers were struck with astonishment; and having turned off their glasses, rose up, one and all, to go. "Hey-day! what's all this, gentlemen? What's all this?" Why, did you not drink *bon repos*, or good night." "What! is that the meaning of it?" "Yes"—"Well, then, a fig for *bon repos*, and take your seats again; you shall not stir a peg, till we have started every drop of our drink!" — *The Weekly Visitor*, July 28th, 1804.

PETERSFIELD.

THE SPREAD EAGLE.—The following sublime toast was swallowed at Waterville, Maine, at a Democratic celebration on the 4th of July, 1815:

"*The Eagle of the United States*—May she extend her wings from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean; and fixing her talons on the Isthmus of Darien stretch with her beak to the Northern Pole."

To show that this remarkable bird still survives, I take the following extract

from the proceedings of Congress of November 7, 1877 :

*"House of Representatives, Washington.*

Mr. PRICE. I do not know anything about the elder Peel's opinion, and do not care much about his son. I live in the afternoon of the nineteenth century, and am legislating for the people who live in the afternoon of the nineteenth century. And while I have the lamp of experience to guide my feet in the path of the future I am pretty safe, so long as I keep in it. While values in England in that time may have gone down 60 per cent., values here have gone up, because gold has gone down from 280 to 103. Do not compare this country with any other. There is no country to compare it with. There is no place to make a country to compare it with. In England you may take a railroad car in the morning and start out in a straight line, and before the sun sets you will run over the edge. You cannot compare mole hills with mountains. You may contrast them, but you cannot compare them. Step out from yonder eastern limit and see the King of Day shaking the water from his wings. He takes his course westward not six hundred miles only—nor a thousand miles, nor two, nor three thousand miles only—but he has traversed nearly four thousand miles when he sinks to rest behind the golden waves of the Pacific ; or take your stand up at the frozen North, where the Ice King reigns, and follow down through all the degrees of latitude till you have reached the land of the orange and the pine, and there you have a country which, for diversity of climate and products, has no equal on the globe. And you cannot make such a coun-

try anywhere else, for there is no other place to make it. This is our country. It has one Constitution, one flag, and one destiny, and I purpose (so far as my ability extends) to keep it in the pathway of duty till it shall arrive at the goal, and the capstone shall be upon it in time."

"Mr. KELLEY. Big as the country is, the American eagle can flap his wings over every acre, and scream defiance to all creation. It is a great bird."

W. K.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.—That the true policy of administration should be not so much to put new men, no matter how good, in office, but to retain those who are serviceable, is illustrated by the following incident. Early in the first term of Lincoln's administration a delegation from western Pennsylvania waited upon Mr. Chase, then Secretary of the Treasury, to demand the removal of an official in his department. The Secretary was for the moment engaged, but directed his clerk to bring out the papers upon which the appointment was made and the record of service. When at leisure he turned to the gentlemen, who had patiently waited, and asking again their several names, handed them the petition for appointment, and enquired of each in turn whether theirs were not the signatures to the application. In some confusion they acknowledged their signatures, but remarked that there had been changes in the political situation since that period. Mr. Chase quietly observed, extending the second paper : "this is the record of service of the gentleman you recommended. He is an excellent officer and

shall be retained." We submit this as an admirable precedent for this and all administrations.

WITNESS.

VIRGINIA RIFLEMEN.—The Richmond Compiler of July, 1813, thus describes the rifle companies who had volunteered their services to defend that place: "They are fine, hardy-looking men, clad in the backwoods costume (the hunting shirt) and armed with their own rifles, with which from their youth up they have been familiarized to the occupation of deer hunting or the amusement of *scalping* squirrels and *decapitating* woodpeckers."

W. K.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS NOT A SAINT.—The Vatican has decided not to make Columbus a saint, because he never was one. That is the sense of the opinion expressed by the congregations. They base their refusal to beatify him on the grounds that his Christian virtues have not been exemplified by any great deed; that, apart from his discovery of America, his public and private life were open to grave reproach; that, until now, nobody ever thought of regarding him as a saint or invoking him as such; and, finally, that it is very doubtful whether he died a good Catholic. M. l'Abbe Cadonet has thus written his thick volume advocating the canonization of the great discoverer in vain.—*London Examiner*, Oct. 1877.

UNIFORMS OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY.—Gen. John Armstrong stated, 1820, that "two silver stars, on gold straps, were the insignia of a Brigadier-General's epaulettes" in 1777. W.K.

RED HOT DEMOCRAT.—This term, so familiar to residents of New York at the present time, in connection with the editorial labors of Mark L. Pomeroy, was applied July 20, 1815, by Barnet Gardener, the pugnacious federalist, who published *The Examiner* at New York. It appeared in that periodical (iv., 278) heading some comments on the action of William Woods, of Baltimore.

PETERSFIELD.

GOWANS THE BOOKSELLER.—A reference to the late Mr. Gowan's in the article (by me) Keese-ana, in the December number of the *Magazine of American History*, erroneously credited him with an Irish nativity when, in fact, he really was of Scottish birth. Although I am confident that Mr. Gowans would have made an admirable Irishman, still I cannot rest until the correction be made and his name identified with the land of Robert Burns.

WILLIAM L. KEESE.

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCY.—*Extract of a letter from New York dated January 16, 1766.* "We seem ripe for a revolt, and to throw off all dependency on Great Britain. The party papers tell us we are able to subsist without trade to Great Britain." A.

AMERICAN CANNIBALISM.—Doctor Younglove, surgeon of Gen. Herkimer's brigade, who was taken prisoner at Fort Stanwix, made a statement at Albany in December, 1777, that the provost guard

who had charge of the prisoners received orders "not to use any violence in keeping the savages from the prisoners. In consequence of which the Indians actually came in large companies with their knives, entered the guard house for to feel of the prisoners to discover the fattest; they dragged one out of the house, massacred and eat him, as they and the Tories said."—*Connecticut Gazette*, March 27, 1778.

W. K.

MASSACHUSETTS TOASTS JULY 4 1813.—*The memory of Washington*—Like Elijah, he has indeed ascended, but alas! his mantle has not fallen.

*The new State of Louisiana*—Though she is the illegitimate child of the Twelfth Congress, yet the United States must acknowledge her a sister-in-law.

*American Commerce*—It asks thousands for defense, and would give millions for revenue.

*War for conquest*—May those who like it pay the piper.

W. K.

SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.—The Rhode Island State Society has been reorganized with the following board of officers: *President*, Nathaniel Greene, Newport; *Vice President*, Simon Henry Greene, Riverpoint; *Secretary*, Dr. Henry E. Turner, Newport; *Assistant Secretary*, Prof. Asa Bird Gardner, West Point, N. Y.; *Treasurer*, Samuel C. Blodget, Providence; *Assistant Treasurer*, Dr. David King, Newport.

EDITOR.

THE FIRST SUNDAY SCHOOL.—The credit of establishing the first Sabbath school has generally been ascribed to

Miss Walker and Robert Raikes. This is an error, and it is time it should be corrected. The credit properly belongs to Morgan Jones, whose pretended statement, which originally appeared in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* in 1740, is so often quoted to prove that Madoc discovered America in 1170. Mr. Jones established a Sabbath school at Newtown, Long Island, Feb. 28th, 1683, nearly a century before Mr. Raikes commenced his efforts in England.

*Alleghany, Pa.*

ISAAC CRAIG.

COLONIAL RELIC.—Gen. R. W. Judson, of Ogdensburg, has among his historical relics a commission issued by Stephen Hopkins, while Governor of Rhode Island, dated July 6, 1767, which shows the same trembling hand that is so well known in the signature of this worthy old quaker while member of the First Continental Congress, and on the Declaration of Independence.

V.

## QUERIES

LORD PERCY AT BRANDYWINE.—It has been reported many times in the last hundred years that Lord Percy, who commanded the British reinforcements sent to Lexington in April, 1775, took part in the battle of Brandywine and there perished. A friend who recently visited that battlefield tells me that Lord Percy's grave was there pointed out to him by a person who assumed to be acquainted with that site and the incidents of the battle.

I have followed the career of Lord Percy while in America with sufficient minuteness to find that he returned to



England in May, 1777, and never came back. The battle of Brandywine was fought in September, 1777.

May not the report of his having been in that action be traced to the story related of a gallant young Percy, of the great house of Percy, who was "a volunteer in the suite of one of the British Generals" in that celebrated battle, and was slain? This story may be found on pages 86 and 87 of the second volume of Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, and is new to me. The incidents savor more of romance than historic truth. Has this story any foundation?

Boston.

C. W. T.

OBELISK TO PITT.—"*Philadelphia, February 19, 1767.* A gentleman at the head of Chesapeake Bay intends to erect in the most conspicuous Part of his Garden an Obelisk, with the following inscription on it.

A Tribute, due to  
The Illustrious PITT,  
(Now Lord CHATHAM)  
And all those *Worthies*  
who so eminently distinguished  
themselves  
By reconciling the *Parent* and the  
*children,*

In the Year M.DCC.LXVI."

Who was this patriotic gentlemen, his place of residence, and did he erect the monument?

PETERSFIELD.

CELERON OR CELORON?—Which is the correct mode of spelling the name of the French commandant who, in 1749, buried the leaden plates along the Ohio river? I observe that Mr. Huidekoper, in the January number, follows Irving

and others, and spells it Celeron; yet on the plates discovered it is clearly Celoron.

ISAAC CRAIG.

*Alleghany, Pa.*

MEMORIAL OF WOLFE.—Morse and Lynsen, auctioneers in New York city, sold July 21, 1767, the following interesting memorials of Wolfe: "A Compleat Camp Kitchen, formerly the Property of Major General Wolfe; a Parcel of Decanters and Wine-Glasses, China Bowls, and some Furniture."

Are any of these articles known to exist at the present time? W. K.

PLATO IN ENGLISH.—Can any one tell where William Box, of Virginia, whose letter of 1611 is quoted in Capt. John Smith's History found the following? "It was divinely spoken of the heathen Socrates, 'If God for man be careful, why should man be over-distrustful? for He hath so tempered the contrary qualities of the elements,  
That neither cold things want heat, nor moist things dry,  
Nor sad things spirit to quicken them thereby,  
Yet walk they musical content of contrariety,  
Which conquer'd, knits them in such links together,  
They do produce even all this whatsoever.'"  
Lowndes gives only one piece from Plato as printed in English prior to 1611, the "Axiochus," Edinburg, 1592. D.

## REPLIES

THE FAMOUS POST RIDER.—(I. 631.) We can assure the Public that Mr. Ebenezer Hurd, of Connecticut, who has rode Post for 40 years between this city and Saybrook, had made in his own Family,

this present year, by only his Wife and Children, no less than 500 yards of Linen and Woolen, the whole of the Wool and Flax of his own raising.—*New York Mercury*, Dec. 28, 1767.

W K.

RICHARD B. DAVIS.—(I. 762.) The Calliopean Society was the first purely literary institution established in the city of New York. One of the members of this society was Richard Bingham Davis, who was much admired for his poetical talents. In his appearance and manners he is said to have reminded his associates of Oliver Goldsmith. His person was clumsy, his manner awkward, his speech embarrassed, and his simplicity most remarkable in one who had been born and brought up in the midst of a crowd of his fellow creatures. He was born in New York August 21, 1771, was educated at Columbia College, modestly pursued the business of his father, in carving or sculpture in wood, but was induced in 1796 to undertake the editorial department of the *Diary*, a daily gazette published in New York, for which he wrote during a year. He was too sensitive, and his literary tastes, which lay in the direction of the belles lettres, were too delicate for this pursuit. He next engaged in mercantile affairs. In 1799 he fell a victim to the yellow fever, then prevailing in New York, carrying off the seed of the disease with him to New Brunswick, N. J., where he died in his 28th year. His poems were expressions of personal feeling and sentiment, and have a tinge of melancholy. They were collected by his friends of the Calliopean Society after his death, and published by Swords in

1807, with a well written prefatory memoir from the pen of John T. Irving. An "Ode to Imagination" shows his earnestness, as a clever "Elegy on an old Wig found in the Streets" does his humor. He was also a contributor to the Drone papers in the *New York Magazine*, where he drew a well written character of himself under the name of Marlet. — *Duyckinck's Cyclopædia of American Literature*. CRAYON.

FIRST FIRE ENGINES IN NEW YORK.—(I. 574, 635.) Whereas it has been the Custom for several years past for the Inhabitants of North America to import Fire Engines from foreign Parts; this is to inform the Publick, that they are made in the City of New York, as cheap and as good as any imported from England by Davis Hunt.—*New York Mercury*, April 20, 1767.

W. K.

WILLIAM S. CARDELL.—(I. 633, II. 60.) A letter purporting to be from a foreigner in New York to a friend in England, containing severe reflections on American literary institutions, was written by W. S. Cardell, and published in the *Literary and Scientific Repository* for October, 1820.

WILLIAM S. CARDELL died in Lancaster, Pa., Aug. 10th, 1828. He had been teaching his system of English Grammar to a class and died after a brief illness. An obituary notice speaks of him as a highly talented and amiable young man. A second edition of his "Elements of English Grammar" was published by Uriah Hunt, Philadelphia, 1827.

West Chester, Pa.

J. S. F.

JANUARY PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY

The Annual Meeting was held in the Hall of the Society, Wednesday evening, January 2d, 1878, the President, Frederic de Peyster, LL. D., in the Chair. After the usual formal business, the Annual Reports were presented.

The Treasurer's Report showed a balance to the credit of the Society in the Manhattan Company of \$11,425.17, and invested securities to the amount of \$46,900.00.

The report of the Executive Committee showed that the Society had held during the year nine stated and two special meetings. The papers read at regular meetings had been valuable and instructive. In addition, two special meetings had been held in commemoration of historical events, viz.: May 8th, at the Academy of Music, in honor of the 100th Anniversary of the Adoption of the Constitution of the State of New York, when Mr. Charles O'Connor delivered an address on "The Constitutions;" the second, June 4th, in the Hall of the Society, to celebrate the Centennial Anniversary of the adoption of the Flag of the United States, when Major-General Schuyler Hamilton delivered an address on "Our National Flag—its History in a Century." Both of these valuable papers have been printed. No anniversary meeting was this year held. The report closed with an urgent appeal to the members of the Society to make, the coming year, an effort to obtain a location for the Society, more commodious and accessible than the present building.

The Librarian reported the number of gifts to the Society during the year at 608 volumes, 891 pamphlets, 6 volumes of newspapers, besides several maps, engravings, broadsides and manuscripts. The museum had been increased by 395 objects of interest, of which the most valuable contribution was that of Messrs. E. Ellery and Edward H. Anderson of 392 articles, collected by their father, the late Dr. Henry J. Anderson. The art collection received a portrait of George Clinton, painted by Ezra Ames, the gift of George Clinton Tallmage, and a marble bust of the late Francis L. Hawks, D.D., by David Richard, presented by the Vestry of the Church of the Holy Saviour. In addition to these, the portrait of Col. Andrew Warner, for more than thirty years the Recording Secretary of the Society, ordered to be painted at the last annual meeting, and executed by George A. Baker, was announced as having been received.

A resolution of thanks to Benjamin H. Field, for his services as Treasurer of the Society, was unanimously adopted.

The Annual Election for officers for the ensuing year resulted in the choice of the following: President, Frederic de Peyster; First Vice-President, William Cullen Bryant; Second Vice-President, Benjamin H. Field; Foreign Corresponding Secretary, George H. Moore; Domestic Corresponding Secretary, Evert A. Duyckinck; Recording Secretary, Andrew Warner; Treasurer, Benjamin B. Sherman; Librarian, John Austin Stevens.

The business being concluded, the Society adjourned.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

**PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES. SECOND SERIES.** Published under direction of MATTHEW S. QUAY, Secretary of the Commonwealth. Edited by JOHN B. LINN and WM. H. EGLE, M. D. Vol. V. 8vo, pp. 875. LANE & HART, State Printers. Harrisburg, 1877.

The present volume of this valuable series is exclusively devoted to "Papers relating to the Colonies on the Delaware," from 1614 to 1682. The greater part of these documents were transcribed from the New York Colonial Archives by an agent sent for the purpose by the Proprietary Government in the year 1740, and in order to make the series complete and continuous the gaps have been filled by reprint, from Mr. O'Callaghan's valuable "Collection of the Colonial Documents of New York," of the later missing papers.

These, together with the late additions to the volumes of New York documents recently noticed, constitute a large amount of interesting information concerning the period when the jurisdiction of the New Netherlands extended over the Delaware colonies.

The editors notice a want of chronological order in the arrangement of the papers at the end of the volume, but the index fortunately makes amends for their disarrangement.

**ARE THE INDIANS DYING OUT? PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS RELATING TO INDIAN CIVILIZATION AND EDUCATION.** 8vo, pp. 42. Washington, 1877.

This interesting report emanates from the Department of the Interior, and is a contribution towards the study of the difficult but important problem as to whether the Indian tribes increase or diminish under the pressure and influence of civilization. The estimates made of their number differ widely. Thus the Secretary of War gave the figures of 76,000 in 1789, exclusive of course of the Texas and Mexican tribes since annexed with the conquest of the territories. In 1854 Schoolcraft set down 388,229 as a probable estimate, the census of the United States in 1853 gave 313,712, and the Indian Bureau 291,882 in 1876. From these figures there seems to be reason for the hope that the Indian may yet be civilized and preserved. Certain it is that we owe it to ourselves, and to the Christianity we profess, to spare no effort to this result.

**GERRIT SMITH. A BIOGRAPHY.** BY OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM. 8vo, pp. 381. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. New York, 1878.

In taking up this volume no one familiar with the original character of Mr. Frothingham's mind will be surprised to find the subject treated in a novel manner. His purpose seems to have been a philosophical analysis of the moral and mental qualities of a nature remarkable for its strength, tenacity and fidelity to principle in all times, places and circumstances.

The titles of the ten chapters which make up the volume are the guide marks by which we are informed of the field examined in each. Thus the first two, genealogical and personal, are entitled Parentage and Health. Then follow Religion, Humanity, Temperance, Slavery, The War, The Peace, Philanthropy and The End, in which the closing scenes of his life and a summary of his character and labors supply a fitting close to this exhaustive and broad biography. The book is prefaced with a fine steel engraved portrait, in which every one familiar with the noble and benignant countenance of this philanthropist and gentleman will find an admirable delineation of those traits which, from their genial, cordial expression, attracted to him old and young, awakening their affection, while they disarmed the animosities of those whose antagonism the thorough radicalism of his opinions aroused.

Descended from a parentage in which the strong traits of the Dutch, Scotch and Irish races were blended, Gerrit Smith was born at Utica in 1797, two years before the Act of Emancipation, freeing all slaves born after the year 1799, was passed by the New York Legislature, an example which, if followed by the other States, might have saved a half century of discord and suffering. He had just reached manhood when the colonization schemes were first agitated. These greatly interested him, and were the gradual introduction to the Anti-Slavery Society, of which he later became one of the firm pillars and supports. It is not possible within our limits to even glance at the progress of the anti-slavery movement, nor at its consequences, immediate or remote; the end is not yet. Mr. Smith, while eminently practical both in the methods of his mind and his action in execution of them, seizing thoroughly hold of the present certain thing, was still something of an optimist in his views of the future. He had the good fortune to see the main desire of his life, the freedom of the slave, realized, and his death in the closing days of 1874 spared him the pain

which the hot contest of the last presidential election would have caused his warm and generous heart.

The reader will find that in the novel arrangement of this sketch, of a character which will stand in the annals of the United States as illustrious for its strength and integrity and general charitableness as that of Wilberforce in those of Great Britain, no drawback to its full understanding, while in every line he will find the classic style and easy gracefulness of one of the most fascinating and delightful of American authors

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**CHARLES SUMNER'S EXPLANATION**  
IN REPLY TO AN ASSAULT. A Speech prepared for the United States Senate, March, 1871. 8vo, pp. 16. LEE & SHEPARD, Boston, 1878.

This is the famous paper upon the personal relations of Mr. Sumner with the President and Secretary of State, the publication of which in the *Tribune*, in April 6, 1874, gave rise to a storm of angry controversy, since revived by allusions to it in some of the recent eulogies on Mr. Motley.

The paper itself was placed by Mr. Sumner in the hands of his friend, Mr. F. W. Bird, about the year 1871, and was not intended for the public until after his death. We have no intention of taking any side in this argument. It may, however, be properly said here that each of the four parties to the controversy—the President, the Secretary of State, Mr. Sumner and Mr. Motley—had strong personal characteristics, each was eminently "*vir tenax propositi*." Homer sung a similar song of the dissensions of the Grecian chiefs before the walls of Troy.

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**ANNALS OF THE TOWN OF WARREN,**  
IN KNOX COUNTY, MAINE, with the Early History of St. George's, Broad Bay and the Neighboring Settlements on the Waldo Patent. By CYRUS EATON, A. M. Second edition. 8vo, pp. 880. MASTERS & LIVERMORE, Hallowell, 1877.

This is a revision by Emily Eaton of the original work which, taken from the lips of her father, was published in 1857.

It carefully covers the period, to which the title refers, with abundant local detail of interest for historians, which an elaborate table of contents renders unusually accessible: and at the close there is a Genealogical Table of the Inhabitants of Warren, alphabetically arranged and compiled from town and county records, lists of mortality, monumental inscriptions and

other sources. The illustrations are by the heliotype process, but not of a high order.

Beginning with the discovery of the island of St. George by Weymouth in 1605, now known by its Indian name of Monhegan or Grand Island, the reader is carried methodically down to the close of the year 1876. Nothing seems to have been omitted which could interest or instruct the antiquarian or student.

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**THE HISTORY OF SHEFFORD, CIVIL, ECCLESIASTICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL.** By C. THOMAS. 8vo, pp. 143. Lovell Printing and Publishing Company, Montreal, 1877.

The township of Shefford was erected by Letters Patent, dated February, 1801, and granted in part to Capt. John Savage and his associates from the Colonial Government. The mode of these grants is worth notice in its contrast to our own Land system. Any individual of responsibility, who had sustained losses from his loyalty or otherwise merited reward, could with others, under certain conditions, obtain a grant of five-sevenths of a township. The promoter of the plan was called "Leader or Agent." The remaining two-sevenths was reserved for the support of the Protestant clergy and the disposition of the town.

The local detail in this little volume is hardly of a nature to interest readers on this side of the border, but we are always happy to call attention to such works of this nature published in the Dominion as fall into our hand.

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**MEMOIR OF JAMES WILLIAM BEEKMAN.** Prepared at the request of the Saint Nicholas Society of the City of New York by EDWARD F. DE LANCEY. 8vo, pp. 17. Published by the Society. New York, 1877.

Our readers will remember the sketch of this amiable and cultivated gentleman, from the pen of his life-long friend, Mr. Duyckinck, which appeared in the November number of the Magazine. In its exhaustive analysis of character Mr. Duyckinck left little for later hands to glean, but we find in the paper before us a careful account of the incidents which transpired in the Beekman House, a construction of 1763, and made it famous among our historic mansions.

The sketch is extremely graceful and a fitting tribute to a warm friend and active companion in many fields of social and public labor.

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**THE LAW OF TEXAS NOW IN FORCE**  
TOUCHING CONVEYANCING AND REGISTRATION, including the Statutes and Decisions of



the Supreme Court of that State as to the substance, form, authentication and registration of deeds and other written instruments, authorized by law to be recorded to have effect as constructive notice. Compiled and edited by WILLIAM ALEXANDER, formerly Attorney-General. 8vo, pp. 188. JOSEPH A. NAGLE. Austin, Texas, 1877.

The authority of Mr. Alexander on the subjects of which he treats is too well known to need a word of comment from us. Familiar for more than a quarter of a century with the laws of Texas and practice under it, and peculiarly qualified for a labor which demands judgment, precision and care, his work cannot fail to find its place on the shelves of those lawyers who have any concern in the Texas lands which the schemes now before Congress are bringing into notice.

Criticism of the work is not within our province or competence, but our intimate knowledge of the author, his learning, training, habits of thought and mode of labor warrant us in an unreserved commendation of whatever comes from his pen.

**WHY WE TRADE AND HOW WE TRADE,** OR AN INQUIRY INTO THE EXTENT TO WHICH the existing commercial and fiscal policy of the United States restricts the material prosperity and development of the country. By DAVID A. WELLS. Economic Monographs, No. 1. 8vo, pp. 67. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. New York, 1878.

**THE SILVER QUESTION—THE DOLLAR OF THE FATHERS VERSUS THE DOLLAR OF THE SONS** Also an extract from an article in the *North American Review*, November, 1877, on the Unconstitutionality of the Repeal of the Obligations of the Resumption Act. By DAVID A. WELLS. Economic Monographs, No. 2. 8vo, pp. 47. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. New York, 1878.

We shall do no more than call the attention of our readers to these valuable treatises, from our best economic authority, with which the intelligent and enterprising publishers begin their series. Mr. Wells is known both in this country and abroad as the best lance, if we except Mr. Ruggles, of whom, as was said of Jove, "to him there was no second" on the liberal and rational side of American political economy.

His treatises on our national resources during the civil war gained him a reputation for author-

ity, which he has easily maintained. Of course his arguments are in favor of taking off the restrictions that cripple the many for the benefit of the few, and of a manly maintenance of national honor and national obligations.

#### BARTOW GENEALOGY, CONTAINING

EVERY ONE OF THE NAME OF BARTOW DESCENDED FROM DOCTOR THOMAS BARTOW, who was living at Crediton, in England, A. D. 1672, with references to the books where any of the name is mentioned by F. B. 8vo, pp. 59. INNES & Co. Baltimore, 1875.

The review of this class of works belongs to genealogical registers rather than to historical reviews. The Bartow family derives from the Bertants of Bretagne, and more directly from the Bartheaus of Paris, whose descendants appear in this country early in the last century. The first of eminence was the Reverend John Bartow, English born, a graduate of Christ College, Cambridge, in 1692. In 1792 he was sent to the New York Colony by the Propagation Society, and became the first Rector of St. Peter's Church, Westchester County. An account of his son, Theophilus Bartow, and of John Bartow, his son, make up the fourth and fifth chapters of this record, which we shall not pursue further. The pamphlet is handsomely printed and worthy of the attention of those interested in family history.

#### SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF WILLIAM

BLANCHARD TOWNE, A. M., founder of the Towne Memorial Fund of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. By JOHN WARD DEAN. 8vo, pp. 16. Published by the N. E. Historic Genealogical Society. Boston, 1878.

This is a sketch of the life of an efficient officer in the Society, of which Mr. Dean is a directing member, as well as the scholarly editor of the well-known *Historical and Genealogical Register*. Local as the interest of this sketch may be, an interest always local, unless the personage be of really national interest, there is to be found in it, as in all that comes from Mr. Dean's pen, opinions and views of character and life that repay the perusal.

#### MEMOIR OF COL. JONATHAN EDDY

OF EDDINGTON, MAINE, with some account of the Eddy Family, and of the Early Settlers on the Penobscot River. By JOSEPH W. PORTER, Burlington, Maine. 8vo, pp. 72. SPRAGUE, OWEN & NASH. Augusta, 1877.

We again call attention to another memoir.

This commences with a sketch of Jonathan Eddy, born in 1726, who in 1755 was an officer of Col. Winslow's regiment in Nova Scotia. His services in the war of the Revolution are recounted, and the sketch closes with the Eddy genealogy.

**THE DEMOCRATIC REVIEW, NOVEMBER, 1877.** Edited by WILLIS R. BIERLY, Esq. The Review Publishing Company, Williamsport, Pa.

This is the first number, and opens with a biographical sketch of General McClellan by the editor, who adopts the popular democratic view of his qualities and abilities. The election of Mr. Randall as Speaker of the House of Representatives is hailed as the people's dawn of hope. In another the editor bewails the fact that most of the Reviews have a strong Republican bias, and summons the Democracy, rank and file, to the rescue. The Review before us is certainly orthodox, while a few sketches and stories promise to enlist the sympathies of the women of the same faith.

**SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY PAPERS.** Vol. IV., No. 6. December, 1877. Published by Rev. J. WILLIAM JONES, D. D. Richmond, Va.

The leader of this month is a review by General Early of the discussion concerning the causes of Lee's Repulse at Gettysburg, which have appeared in the pages of the Review. Early finds these causes to have been "the most extraordinary procrastination and delay in carrying out the orders for the attacks on the second and third days, upon which the whole battle hinged." We are rather surprised to see Gettysburg styled a "fortress," a term new to us in connection with that locality. A reply of Early to General Longstreet treats of the same subject, concerning which there seems to be much bad blood among the ex-Confederates. Next follows a sharp article upon the Peace Commissioners, in the form of a reply, by R. M. T. Hunter to the letter of Jefferson Davis. We agree with the editor that it is better that these things should be ventilated by living actors than left to the uncertainties of future discussion, though we doubt whether the majority of our Southern friends can be brought by any process of reasoning to understand that the reasons for the loss of the cause were inherent in the cause itself, and that neither generalship, of which it had abundance, and statesmanship, of which it had little, could have saved it. In this connection we note the frank admission of Mr.

Hunter that "none of us (the Confederate) leaders understand the true nature of the Crisis."

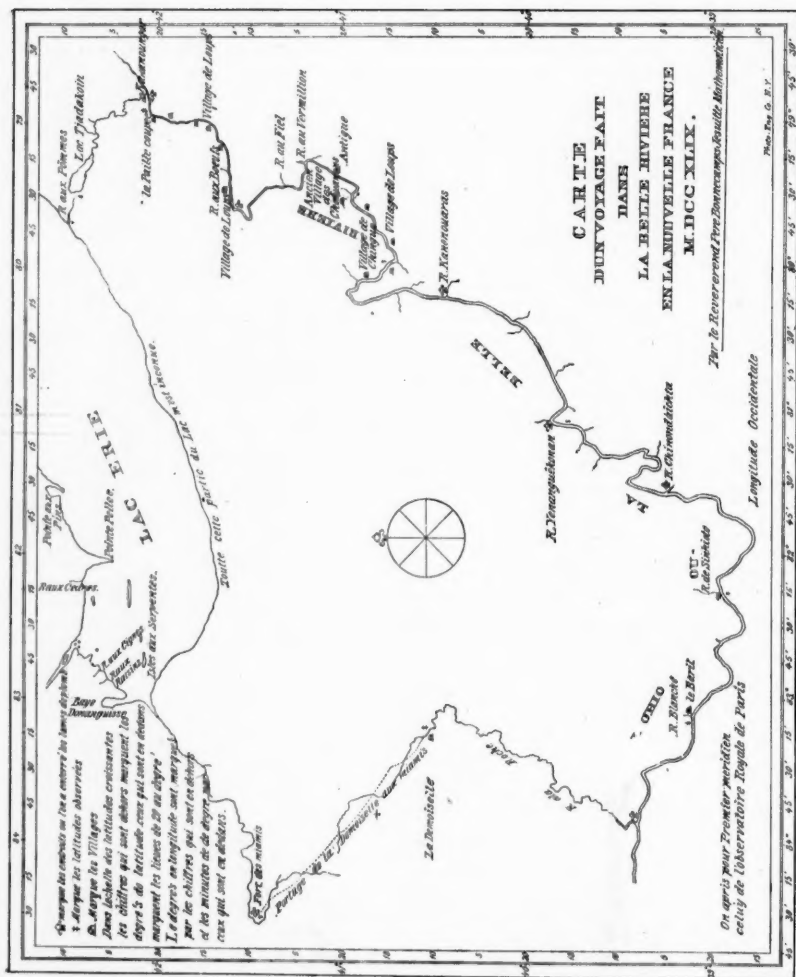
**THE MAINE GENEALOGIST AND BIOGRAPHER.** A QUARTERLY JOURNAL. WM. B. LAPHAM, Editor. December. SPRAGUE, OWEN & NASH. Augusta, Maine, 1877.

In this number will be found eleven articles. The general reader will take much interest in the inscriptions copied from the old cemetery at Hallowell, some of which, though of recent date, have an old time quaintness, and in ancient "warning" notifying one James Gordon, a silversmith, who had presumed to settle in Hallowell without the town's consent, that he leave the town; and this, strange to say, in 1792.

**THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.** JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1878. Edited by ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE. D. APPLETON & Co. New York.

The most exacting lover of variety could not complain of the contents of this number of our standard Review, which includes articles by such names as Senator Hoar, Dion Boucicault, the Confederate General Richard Taylor, W. W. Story, Bayard Taylor and General McClellan. Those bearing upon American topics are a eulogy upon Senator Hoar and the Reminiscences of the Civil War by General Taylor. The former paints Mr. Sumner at his best. The latter will attract interest from the writer's immediate connection with many of the scenes and persons he describes. Indeed, the article is chiefly made up of a recital in the first person of the author's participation in the various actions which preceded the campaign of 1862, and sundry desultory criticisms of the commanders of the United States and Southern armies, upon the merits of which military men must decide. From the closing sentence of these Reminiscences, we see that they are to be continued, when we shall probably find that the General was more skillful with his sword than he here shows himself to be with his pen. We notice with some regret the tendency this periodical is developing under its new direction towards the magazine order of literature. Departing from the English style of careful book review, embracing an exhaustive treatment of a general subject, and suggesting new views, as has been the time-honored fashion of the English Quarterlies, Mr. Rice seems to have taken as his model the *Reveu des deux Mondes*. No doubt the latter form is more popular, and may prove more profitable in a pecuniary sense, but "noblesse oblige" and the *North American Review* must yield the old field to another if it abandon its traditions.





### EXPLANATION OF THE MAP

The map prefixed is a reduced photographic copy of a part of Father Bonsecamp's manuscript map of the route of de Céloron's Expedition, now deposited in the Archives of the *Département de la Marine* in Paris.

- ✚ Indicates the places where leaden plates were buried.
- ‡ Points where latitudes and longitudes were observed.
- ⌘ Sites of Indian villages.

The degrees of longitude are west of the meridian of Paris, and are indicated by the figures in the outer division of the scales on the eastern and western extremities of the map. Those on the inner divisions are leagues, in the proportion of 20 to a degree.